

# LEYCESTERS

Common-wealth:

CONCEIVED, SPO-  
KEN AND PVBLI-  
SHED WITH MOST EAR-  
nest protestation of all Du-  
tiful good will and affection  
towards this Realm, for whose  
good onely, it is made com-  
mon to many.

Job the 20. verse the 27.

*The Heavens shall reveale his iniquity, and the  
Earth shall rise up against him.*



Printed 1641.

*K  
Dudley  
App.*



LEYCESTERS

Common-Wealth

CONCEIVED SPO

KEN AND PEARL

SHED WITH MOST

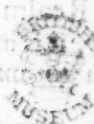
not protection of all D

shall good work of D

towards the People for whole

Good and industry

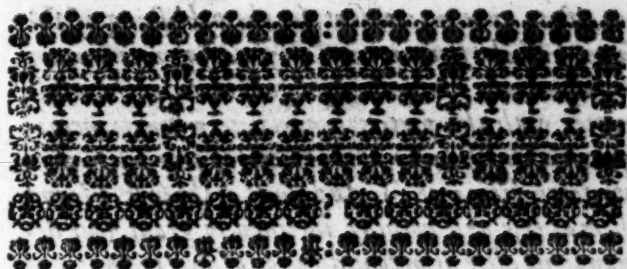
more industry



Job the 20. verse the 27.

The Harvest shall reveal his industry, and the  
Earth shall be a joyful name.

Printed 1644



# THE EPISTLE DIRECTORY;

TO  
M. G. M. IN GRATIOUS  
Street in London.



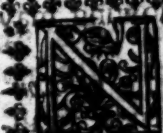
*Dear and loving friend, I received  
about tenne dayes agoe your letter of  
the 9. of this present: wherein you de-  
mand and sollicite againe the thing,  
that I so flatly denied you, at my late  
being in your chamber: I meant, to  
put in writing the relation which then I made unto  
you, of the speech had this last Christmas in my pre-  
sence, betweene my right worshipfull good friend and  
patron, and his guest theould Lawyer, of some matters  
in our state and country. And for that you presse mee  
very seriously at this instant, both by request and many  
reasons, to yeeld to your desire herein, and not onely this,*

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

but also to give my consent for the publishing of the same, by such secret meanes as you assure mee you can there find out: I have thought good to confer the whole matter with the parties themselves, whom principally it concerneth (who at the receipt of your letter were not farre from mee:) And albeit at the first, I found them averse and nothing inclined to grant your demand: yet after upon consideration of your reasons, and assurance of secrecie: (especially for that there is nothing in the same contained, repugnant to charity or to our bounden duty toward our most gracious Princes or Countrey, but rather for the speciall good of them both, and for the forewarning of some dangers imminent to the same) they have referred over the matter to mee, yet with this Proviso, that they will know nothing, nor yet yeeld consent to the publishing hereof, for feare of some future flourish of the ragged Staffe to come hereafter about their eares, if their names should breake forth: which (I trust) you will provide, shall never happen, both for their security, and for your owne. And with this I will end, assuring you that within these five or six dayes, you shall receive the whole in writing by an other way and secret meanes, neither shall the bearer suspect what hee carrieth: whereof also I thought good to premonish you: and this shall suffice for this time.

THE

# THE PREFACE OF THE CONFERENCE.


 Or long before the last Christ-  
 masse, I was requested by a let-  
 ter from a very worshipfull and  
 grave Gentleman, whose sonne  
 was then my pupill in *Cam-*  
*bridge*, to repaire with my said  
 Scholar to a certaine house of his neare *London*,  
 and there to passe over the Holy-dayes in his  
 company: for that it was determined that in  
*Hillary* tyme following, his said sonne should  
 bee placed in some house of *Chancery*, to follow  
 the study of the *Common-law*, and so to leave  
 the *Vniuersity*. This request was gratefull un-  
 to mee in respect of the time, as also of the  
 matter, but especially of the company. For  
 that, as I loue much the yong Gentleman, my  
 pupill, for his towardlines in religion, learning,  
 and vertue: so much more I doe reverence his

*Scholar.*

The occasion  
of this confe-  
rence and  
meeting.

Father,



*The Preface of the conference.*

Father, for the riper possession of the same ornaments, and for his great wisdom, experience, and grave judgement in affaires of the World that doe occurre: but namely touching our owne Countrey, wherein truly I doe not remember to have heard any man in my life, discourse more substantially, indifferently, and with lesse passion, more love and fidelit y, then I have heard him: Which was the cause that I tooke singular delight to be in his company, and refused no occasion to enjoy the same. Which also hee perceiving, dealt more openly and confidently with mee, then with many other of his friends, as by the relation following may well appeare.

The persons  
and place of  
this conference.

When I came to the foresaid House by *London*, I found there among other friends, an ancient man that professed the law, and was come from *London* to keepe his Christmasse in that place, with whom at divers former times I had beene well acquainted, for that hee haunted much the company of the said Gentleman my friend, and was much trusted and used by him in matters of his profession, and not a little beloved also for his good conversation, notwithstanding some difference in religion betwene us. For albeit, this Lawyer was inclined to bee a Papist, yet was it with such moderation and reservation of his duty towards his Prince and Court-

*The Preface of the conference.*

Countrey and proceedings of the same: as hee seemed alwayes to give full satisfaction in this point to us that were of contrary opinion.

Neither did hee let to protest often times with great affection, that as hee had many friends and kinsfolke of contrary religion to himselfe: so did hee love them never the lesse for their different conscience, but leaving that to God, was desirous to doe them any friendship or service that hee could, with all affection, zeale, and fidelity. Neither was hee wilfull or obstinate in his opinion, and much lesse reprochfull in speech (as many of them bee) but was content to heare whatsoever wee should say to the contrary (as often wee did:) and to read any booke also that wee delivered him, for his instruction.

A temperate  
Papist.

Which temperate behaviour, induced this Gentleman and mee, to affect the more his company, and to discourse as freely with him in all occurrents, as if hee had beene of our owne religion.

THE

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Which temperate behaviour, induced this  
Gentleman and mee, to affect the more his com-  
pany, and to discourse as freely with him in all  
occurrences, as if hee had bene of our owne re-  
ligion.

# THE ENTRANCE TO THE MATTER.



Ne day then of the Christmasse, wee three retiring our selves after dinner, into a large Gallery, for our recreation, (as often we were accustomed to doe, when other went to cards and other pastimes;) this Lawyer by chance had in his hand a little booke, then newly set forth, containing *A defence of the publique justice done of late in England, upon divers Priests and other Papistes for treason:* Which booke, the Lawyer had read to himselfe a little before, and was now putting it up into his pocket; But the Gentleman my friend, who had read over the same once or twice in my company before, would needs take the same into his hand againe, and asked the Lawyer his judgement upon the booke.

The Lawyer answered: That it was not evill penned in his opinion to prove the guiltines of some persons therein named in particular, as also to perswade in generall, that the Papistes both abroad and at home, who meddle so earnestly with defence and increase of their religion (for these are not all, said he) doe consequently wish and labour some change in the state: but yet whether so farre forth, and in so deepe a degree of proper treason, as here in this booke both in

The Booke  
of justice.

Lawyer.



generall and particular is presumed and inforced, that (quoth hee) is somewhat hard (I weene) for you or mee (in respect of some other difference betweene us) to judge or discern with indifferency.

*Gentleman.*

Nay truly said the Gentleman, for my part I thinke not so, for that reason is reason in what religion so ever. And for my selfe, I may protect, that I beare the honest Papist (if there bee any) no malice for his deceived conscience, whereof among others, your selfe can bee a witnesse: may his Practizes against the state, I cannot in any wise digest: and much lesse may the Common-wealth beare the same (whereof wee all depend,) being a sinne of all other, the most heinous, and least pardonable. And therefore seeing in this, you grant the Papist both in generall abroad, and at home; and in particular such as are condemned, executed and named in this booke to bee guilty: how can you insinuate (as you doe) that there is more presumed or enforced upon them by this booke, then there is just cause so to doe.

The Papists  
practizes a-  
gainst the  
state.

*Lawyer.*

Good Sir, said the other, I stand not here to examine the doings of my superiours, or to defend the guilty, but wish hartily rather their punishment that have deserved the same. Onely this I say, for explication of my former speech: that men of a different religion from the state wherein they live, may bee said to deale against the same state in two sorts: the one, by dealing for the increase of their said different religion, which is alwayes either directly, or indirectly against the state. (Directly) when the said religion containeth any point or article directly impugning the said state, (as perhaps you will say that the *Roman* Religion doth against the present state of *England* in the point of Supremacy:) and (Indirectly) for that every different religion divideth in a sort and draw-

Two sorts  
of dealing  
against the  
state.

*Directly.*

*Indirectly.*

draweth from the state, in that there is no man who in his heart would not wish to have the chiefe Governour and state to bee of his religion, if hee could; and consequently misliketh the other in respect of that; and in this kind, not onely those whom you call *huse* Papists in *England*; but also those whom wee call hote Puritans among you, (whose difference from the state especially in matters of government is very well knowne,) may bee called all traytors, in mine opinion: for that every one of these in deed, doe labour indirectly, (if not more) against the state, in how much soever each one endeavourth to increase his part or faction that desireth a Governour of his owne religion.

And in this case also; are the Protestants in *France* and *Flanders*; under Catholique Princes; the Calvinists (as they are called;) under the Duke of *Saxony*, who is a Lutheran; the Lutherans under *Casimir*, that favoerth Calvinists: the Grecians and other Christians under the Emperour of *Constantinople*, under the *Sophy*, under the great Chame of *Turkey*, and under other Princes that agree not with them in religion. All which Subjects doe wish (no doubt) in their hearts, that they had a Prince and state of their owne religion, in stead of that which now governeth them; and consequently in this first sense, they may bee called all traytors, and every act they doe for advancement of their said different religion (dividing betweene the state and them) tendeth to treason: which their Princes supposing, doe sometimes make divers of their acts treasonable or punishable for treason. But yet so long as they breake not forth unto the second kind of treason which containeth some actuall attempt or treachery against the life of the Prince, or state, by rebellion or otherwise: wee doe not properly condemn them for tray-

The state of all Subjects, in a state of different religion.

The second kind of treason.

traytors, though they doe some acts of their religion made treason by the Prince his lawes, who is of a different faith.

The application of the former example.

And so to apply this to my purpose: I thinke, Sir, in good sooth, that in the first kind of treason, as well the zealous Papist, as also the Puritans in *England*, may well bee called and proved traytors: but in the second sort (whereof wee speake properly at this time) it cannot bee so precisely answered, for that there may bee both guilty and guiltles in each religion. And as I cannot excuse all Puritans in this point: so you cannot condemne all Papists, as long as you take mee and some other to bee as wee are.

Gentleman.

I grant your distinction of treasons to bee true, (said the Gentleman,) as also your application thereof to the Papists and Puritans (as you call them,) not to want reason, if there bee any of them that mislike the present state) as perhaps there bee:) all bee it for my part, I thinke these two kinds of treasons, which you have put downe, bee rather divers degrees then divers kinds: wherein I will refer mee to the judgement of our *Cambridge* friend here present, whose skill is more in logicall distinctions. But yet my reason is this, that indeed the one is but a step or degree to the other, not differing in nature, but rather in time, ability or opportunity. For if (as in your former examples you have shewed) the Grecians under the Turke and other Christians under other Princes of a different religion, and as also the Papists and Puritans (as you terme them) in *England* (for now this word shall passe betwene us for distinction sake,) have such alienation of mind from their present regiment, and doe covet so much a governour and state of their owne religion: then no doubt but they are also

Two degrees of treason.

resolute

resolved to imploy their forces for accomplishing and bringing to passe their desires, if they had opportunity: and so being now in the first degree or kind of treason, doe want but occasion or ability, to breake in to the second.

True Sir, said the Lawyer, if there bee no other cause or circumstance that may with hold them.

And what cause or circumstance may stay them I pray you (said the Gentleman) when they shall have ability and opportunity to doe a thing which they so much desire?

Divers causes (quoth the Lawyer) but especially and above all other (if it bee at home in their owne Country.) the feare of servitude under forraigne nations, may restraine them from such attempts: As wee see in *Germany* that both Catholiques and Protestants would joyne together, against any stranger that should offer danger to their liberty. And so they did against *Charles* the fifth. And in *France* not long agoe, albeit the Protestants were up in armes against their King, and could have bene content, by the helpe of us in *England*, to have put him downe, and placed an other of their owne religion: yet when they saw us once seized of *New-haven*, and so like to proceed to the recovery of some part of our states on that side the Sea: they quickly joyned with their owne Catholiques againe to expell us.

In *Flanders* likewise, though Monsieur were called thither by the Protestants, especially for defence of their religion, against the *Spaniards*: yet wee see how dainty divers chiefe Protestants of *Antwerp*, *Gant*, and *Bruges* were, in admitting him, and how quick in expelling, so soone as hee put them in the least feare of subjection to the *French*.

And as for *Portugall*, I have heard some of the

Lawyer.

Gentleman.

Lawyer.

France.

Flanders.

Portugall.



chiefest Catholiques among them say, in this late contention about their Kingdoms: that rather then they would suffer the *Casilians* to come in upon them, they would bee content to admit whatsoever aids of a contrary religion to themselves, and to adventure whatsoever alteration in religion or other inconvenience might befall them by that meanes, rather then endanger their subjection to their ambitious neighbour.

The old hatred of East Grecians towards the West Latins.

The like is reported in divers histories of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines: as they had rather to endure all the miseries which dayly they suffer under the Turke for their religion and otherwise; then by calling for aid from the West to hazard their subjection to the said Latines. So that by these examples you see, that feare and horror of externall subjection may stay men in all states, and consequently also both Papists and Puritans in the state of *England*, from passing to the second kind or degree of treason, albeit they were never so deepe in the first, and had both ability, time, will, and opportunity for the other.

Scholar.

Here I presumed to interrupt their Speech, and said: that this seemed to mee most cleare, and that now I understood what the Lawyer meant before, when hee affirmed, that albeit the most part of Papists in generall might bee said to deal against the state of *England* at this day, in that they deale so earnestly for the maintenance and increase of their religion, and so to incurre some kind of treason: yet (perhaps) not so far-forth nor in so deepe a degree, of proper treason as in this booke is presumed or enforced: though for my part (said I) I doe not see that the booke presumeth or enforceeth all Papists in generall to bee properly

Not all Papists properly traitors.

perly traytors, but onely such as in particular are therein named, or that are by law attainted, condemned or executed: and what will you say (quoth I) to those in particular.

Surely (quoth he) I must say of these, much after the manner which I spake before: that some here named in this booke are openly knowen to have bene in the second degree or kind of treason: as *Westmerland*, *Norton*, *Sanders*, and the like. But divers others (namely the Priests and Seminarics that of late have suffered,) by so much as I could see delivered and pleaded at their arraignmentes, or heard protested by them at their deaths, or gathered by reason and discourse of my selfe, (for that no sortaine Prince or wise counsellor would ever commit so great matters of state to such instruments:) I cannot (I say) but thinke, that to the wise of our state, that had the doing of this busines, the first degree of treason (wherein no doubt they were) was sufficient to dispatch and make them away: especially in such suspicious times as these are: to the end that being hanged for the first, they should never bee in danger to fall into the second, nor yet to draw other men to the same: which perhaps was most of all misdoubted.

After the Lawyer had spoken this, I held my peace, to heare what the Gentleman would answer: who walked up and downe, two whole turnes in the Gallery, without yeelding any word againe: and then staying upon the sudden, cast his eyes sadly upon us both, and said:

My Masters, how so ever this bee, which indeed appertaineth not to us to judge or discusse, but rather to perswade our selves, that the state hath reason to doe as it doth, and that it must often times, as well prevent

*Lawyer.*

The Priests  
and Seminarics  
that were  
executed.

*Gentleman.*

vent inconveniences, as remedy the same when they are happened: yet for my owne part I must confesse unto you, that upon some considerations which use to come unto my mind, I take no small grieffe of these differences among us (which you terme of divers and different religions) for which wee are driven of necessity, to use Discipline towards divers, who possibly otherwise would bee no great malfactours. I know the cause of this difference is grounded upon a principle not easie to cure, which is the judgement and conscience of a man, whereunto obcieth at length his will and affection, whatsoever for a time hee may otherwise dissemble outwardly. I remember your speech before of the doubtfull and dangerous inclination of such as live discontented in a state of a different religion, especially, when either indeed, or in their owne conceipt, they are hardly dealt withall, and where every mans particular punishment, is taken to reach to the cause of the whole.

The considerations,

Misery moveth mercy.

A good wish,

I am not ignorant how that misery procureth amity, and the opinion of calamity, moveth affection of mercy and compassion, even towards the wicked: the better fortune alwayes is subject to envy, and hee that suffereth, is thought to have the better cause, my experience of the divers raignes and proceedings of King *Edward*, Queene *Mary*, and of this our most gracious soveraigne hath taught mee not a little, touching the sequell of these affaires. And finally, (my good friends) I must tell you plaine (quoth hee: and this hee spake with great asseveration) that I could wish with all my heart, that either these differences were not among us at all, or els that they were so temperately on all parts pursued: as the Common-state of our Countrey, the blessed raigne of her Majesty, and the common cause of true religion, were not endangered thereby.

thereby. But now: and there hee brake of, and turned aside.

The Lawyer seeing him hold his peace and depart, hee stepped after him, and taking him by the gowne said merrily: Sir, all men are not of your complexion, some are of quicker and more stirring Spirits, and doe love to fish in water that is troubled, for that they doe participate the Blacke-moores humour, that dwell in *Guinea* (whereof I suppose you have heard and seene also some in this Land) whose exercise at home is (as some write) the one to hunt, catch, and sell the other, and alwayes the stronger to make money of the weaker for the time. But now if in *England* we should live in peace and unity of the state, as they doe in *Germany*, notwithstanding their differences of Religion, and that the one should not pray upon the other: then should the great Fawcons for the Field (I meane the favorites of the time) faile whereon to feed, which were an inconvenience as you know.

Truly Sir, said the Gentleman, I thinke you rove nearer the marke then you wene; for if I bee not deceived the very ground of much of these broiles whereof wee talke, is but a very pray: not, in the minds of the Prince or state (whose intentions no doubt bee most just and holy) but in the greedy imagination and subtile conceipt of him, who at this present in respect of our sinnes, is permitted by God, to tyrannize both Prince and state: and being himselfe of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fattning of himselfe and ruine of the Realme. For whereas by the common distinction now received in speech, there are three notable differences of religion in the Land, the two extreames, whereof are the Papist and the

Lawyer.

The nature  
and practice  
of the Guineans.

Gentleman.

The Tyrant  
of English  
state.

Three differences of religion in England.



Puritan, and the religious Protestant obtaining the meane: this fellow being of neither, maketh his gaine of all: and as hee seeketh a Kingdome by the one extreame, and spoile by the other: so hee useth the authority of the third, to compass the first two, and the counter-mine of each one, to the overthrow of all three.

*Scholar.*

The Earle of  
*Leycester.*

To this I answered: In good sooth Sir, I see now where you are: you are fallen into the common place of all our ordinary talke and conference in the university: for I know that you meane my L. of *Leicester*, who is the subject of all pleasant discourses at this day throughout the Realme.

*Gentleman.*

Not so pleasant as pittifull, answered the Gentleman, if all matters and circumstances were well considered, except any man take pleasure to jest at our owne miseries, which are like to bee greater by his iniquity (if God avert it not) then by all the wickednesse of *England* besides: hee being the man that by all probability, is like to bee the bane and fatall destiny of our state, with the eversion of true religion, whereof by indirect meanes, hee is the greatest enemy that the Land doth nourish.

*Lawyer.*

The L.  
*Northby* polie  
cy.

Now verily (quoth the Lawyer) if you say thus much for the Protestants opinion of him, what shall I say for his merits towards the Papists? who for as much as I can perceiue, doe take themselves little beholding unto him, albeit for his gaine hee was some yeares their secret friend against you: untill by his friends hee was perswaded, and chiefly by the L. *Northby* way of policy, as the said L. boasteth in hope, of greater gaine, to step over to the Puritans, against us both, whom notwithstanding it is probable, that hee loveth as much, as hee doth the rest.

You

You know the Beares love, said the Gentleman, which is all for his owne paunch, and so this Beare-whelp, turneth all to his owne commodity, and for greedines thereof, will overturne all if he bee not stopped or mouzeled in time.

And surely unto mee it is a strange speculation, whereof I cannot pick out the reason (but onely that I doe attribute it to Gods punishment for our finnes) that in so wise and vigilant a state as ours is, and in a Countrey so well acquainted and beaten with such dangers: a man of such a Spirit as hee is knowne to bee, of so extreame ambition, pride, falshood and trechery: so borne, so bred up, so noosed in treason from his infancy, descended of a tribe of traytors, and fleshed in conspiracy against the Royall blood of King *Henries* children in his tender yeares, and exercised ever since in driftes against the same, by the blood and ruine of divers others: a man so well knownen to beare secret malice against her Majesty, for causes irreconcilable, and most deadly rancour against the best and wisest Councillours of her highnesse: that such a one (I say so hatefull) to God and man, and so markeable to the simplest subject of this Land by the publique insignes of his tyrannous purpose, should bee suffered so many yeares without check, to aspire to tyranny by most manifest wayes, and to possesse himselfe (as now hee hath done) of Court, Councell, and Countrey, without controlement: so that nothing wanteth to him but onely his pleasure, and the day already conceived in his mind to dispose as hee list, both of Prince, Crowne, Realme, and Religion.

It is much truly (quoth I) that you say, and it minnstreth not a little marvaile unto many, whereof your worship is not the first, nor yet the tenth person of

*Gentleman.*

*A strange speculation.*

*Scholar.*



The Queens  
Majesties  
most excel-  
lent good  
nature.

account which I have heard discourse and com-  
plaine. But what shall wee say herunto? there is no  
man that ascribeth not this unto the singular benig-  
nity and most bountifull good nature of her Majesty  
who measuring other men by her owne Heroicall  
and Princely sincerity: cannot easily suspect a man  
so much bounden to her grace, as hee is, nor remove  
her confidence from the place, where shee hath heaped  
so infinite benéfices.

Gentleman.

No doubt, (said the Gentleman), but this gracious  
and sweet disposition of her Majesty is the true origi-  
nall cause thereof: which Princely disposition, as in her  
highnesse it deserveth all rare commendation, so lieth  
the same open to many dangers, often times, when so  
benigne a nature meeteth with ingrate and ambitious  
persons: which observation perhaps, caused her Ma-  
jesties most noble Grandfather and Father (two re-  
nowned wise Princes) to withdraw some time upon  
the sudden, their great favour from certaine Subjects  
of high estate. And her Majesty may easily use her  
owne excellent wisdoms and memory, to recall to  
mind the manifold examples of perillous happes fallen  
to divers Princes, by too much confidence in obliged  
proditours: with whom the name of a Kingdome,  
and one houres raigne, weyeth more, then all the du-  
ty, obligation, honesty, or nature in the World. Would  
God her Majesty could see the continuall feares that  
bee in her faithfull Subjects hearts, whiles that man is  
about her noble person, so well able and likely (if the  
Lord avert it not) to bee the calamity, of her Princely  
bloud and name.

Feares that  
subjects have  
of my L. of  
Leycester.

Sir Francis  
Walsingham.

The talke will never out of many months and  
minds, that divers ancient men of this Realme, and  
once a wise Gentleman now a Councellour, had with  
a certaine friend of his, concerning the préface and  
deepe

deep impression, which her Majesties Father had of the House of Sir *John Dudley*, to see the ruine in time of his Majesties Royall house and blood, which thing was like to have beene fulfilled soone after (as all the World knoweth) upon the death of King *Edward* by the said *Dudley* this mans Father: who at one blow, procured to dispatch from a possession of the Crown, all three children of the said noble King. And yet in the middelt of those bloody practizes against her Majesty that now is and her sister (wherein also this fellowes hand was so farre, as for his age hee could thrust the same,) within sixteene dayes before King *Edwards* death (hee knowing belike that the King should die) wrote most flattering letters to the Lady *Mary* (as I have heard by them who then were with her) promising all loyalty and true service to her, after the desceale of her brother, with no lesse painted words, then this man now doth use to Queene *Elizabeth*.

So dealt hee then with the most deare children of his good King and Master, by whom hee had beene no lesse exalted and trusted, then this man is by her Majesty. And so deeply dissembled hee then when hee had in hand the plot to destroy them both. And what then (alas) may not wee feare and doubt of this his sonne, who in outrageous ambition and desire of raigne, is not inferior to his Father, or to any other aspiring Spirit in the World, but farre more insolent, cruell, vindicative, expert, potent, subtile, fine, and fox-like then ever hee was? I like well the good motion propounded by the foresaid Gentleman, to his friend at the same time, and doe assure my selfe it would be most pleasant to the Realme, and profitable to her Majesty, to wit, that this mans actions might bee called publickely to triall, and liberty given to good sub-

Deepe dissimulation.

Sir *Francis*

*Walshingham*

and his

and his

and his



Edmund  
Dudley.

Robert Dud-  
ley.

jects, to say what they knew against the same, as it was permitted in the first year of King *Henry* the eight against his Grandfather, and in the first of *Queene Mary* against his Father: and then I would not doubt, but if these two his Ancestors were found worthy to loose their heads for treason: this man would not bee found unworthy to make the third in kindred, whose treacheries doe farre surpasse them both.

Lawyer.

After the Gentleman had said this, the Lawyer stood still, somewhat smiling to himselfe, and looking round about him, as though hee had bene halfe asfear'd, and then said. My masters, doe you read over or study the statutes that come forth? have you not heard of the *proviso* made in the last Parliament for punishment of those who speake so broad of such men as my L. of *Leycester* is?

Gentleman.

The Law a-  
gainst talk-  
ers.

Actions of  
*Leycester*  
whercof hee  
would have  
no speech.

Yes, said the Gentleman, I have heard how that my L. of *Leycester* was very carefull and diligent at that time to have such a Law to passe against talkers: hoping (belike) that his L. under that generall-restraint might be the more quietly in harbour from the tempest of mens tongues, which tatted busily at that time, of divers his Lordships actions and affaires, which perhaps himselfe would have wished to passe with more secrecie. As of his discontentment and preparation to rebellion, upon Monsieurs first comming into the Land: of his disgrace and checks received in Court: of the fresh death of the noble Earle of *Essex*: and of this mans halty snatching up of the widdow, whom hee sent up and downe the Countrey from house to house by privy wayes, thereby to avoid the sight and knowledge of the *Queenes* Majesty. And albeit hee had not onely used her at his good liking before, for satisfying of his owne lust, but also married and re-married

married her for contentation of her friends: yet denied hee the same, by soleinne oath to her Majesty and received the holy Communion thereupon (so good a conscience hee hath) and consequently threatened most sharp revenge towards all subjects which should dare to speake thereof: and so for the concealing both of this and other his doings, which hee desired not to have publike, no marvaile though his Lordship were so diligent a procurer of that law for silence.

Indeed (said I) it is very probable that his Lordship was in great distresse about that time, when Monsieur's matters were in hand, and that hee did many things and purposed more, whereof hee desired lesse speech among the people, especially afterwards, when his said designements tooke not place. I was my selfe that yeare not farre from *Warwicke* when hee came thither from the Court a full *Mal-Content*, and when it was thought most certainly throughout the Realm, that hee would have taken armes soone after, if the marriage of her Majesty with Monsieur had gone forward. The thing in *Cambridge* and in all the Countrey as I rode, was in every mans mouth: and it was a wonder to see not onely the countenances, but also the behaviour, and to heare the bold speeches of all such as were of his faction.

My Lord himselfe had given out a little before at *Killingworth*, that the matter would cost many broken heads before *Michaelmasse* day next: and my Lord of *Warwick* had said openly at his table in *Greenwich*, Sir *Thomas Hennige* being by (if I bee not deceived,) that it was not to bee suffered (I mean the marriage) which words of his once coming abroad (about misliked by his owne Lady then also present) every Serving-man and Common-companion, tooke then up.

Scholar.

Leicesfers pre-  
paratives to  
rebellion u-  
pon Mon-  
sieur's mar-  
riage.

up in defence of his Lordships part against the Queenes Majesty. Such running there was, such sending, and posting about the Realme, such amplification of the powers and forces of *Casimere* and other Princes, ready, (as was affirmed) to present themselves unto his aid, for defence of the Realme and Religion against strangers: ) for that was holden to bee his cause) such numbering of parties and complices within the Realme, (whereof himselfe shewed the Catalogue to some of his friends for their comfort) such debasing of them that favoured the marriage (especially two or three Cancellors by name, who were said to bee the cause of all, and for that were appointed out to bee sharply punished to the terrour of all others;) such letters were written and intercepted of purpose, importing great powers to bee ready, and so many other things done and designed, tending all to manifest and open warre: as I began heartily to be afeard, and wished my selfe backe at *Cambridge* againe, hoping that being there, my Scholars gowne should excuse mee from necessity of fighting, or if not, I was resolved (by my Lords good leave) to follow *Aristotle*, who preferreth alway the Lyon before the Beare: assuring my selfe withall, that his Lordship should have no better successe in this (if it came to triall) then his Father had in as bad a cause, and so much the more for that I was privy to the minds of some of his friends, who meant to have deceived him, if the matter had broken out. And amongst other, there was a certaine Vice-president in the World, who being left in the roome and absence of an other, to procure friends: said in a place secretly not farre from *Ludlow*, that if the matter came to blowes, hee would follow his Mistresse, and leave his Master in the briars.

Marry

To Sir Tho.  
Layton.

L. Treasurer.  
L. Chamber-  
laine.  
M. Comptro-  
ler.

Sir Thomas  
Hibbet.

- Marry Sir (quoth the Gentleman) and I trow many  
 more would have followed that example. For albeit  
 I know, that the Papists were most named and mis-  
 doubted of his part, in that cause. for their open incli-  
 nation towards Monsieur, and consequently, for greater  
 discredit of the thing it selfe, it was given out every  
 where by this Champion of religion, that her Ma-  
 jesties cause, was the Papists cause, (even as his Father  
 had done in the like enterprise before him, though  
 all upon dissimulation, as appeared at his death, where  
 hee professed himselfe an earnest Papist:) yet was there  
 no man so simple in the Realme, which discredited not  
 this Vizard at the first: neither yet any good subject  
 (as I suppose) who seeing her Majesty on the one  
 part, would not have taken against the other part,  
 what so ever hee had beene. And much more the  
 thing it selfe in controversie (I mean the marriage  
 of her Royall Majesty with the brother and heire ap-  
 parant of *France*,) being taken and judged by the best,  
 wisest and faithfulest Protestants of the Realme, to  
 be both honourable, convenient, profitable and need-  
 full. Whereby onely, as by a most soveraigne and pre-  
 sent remedy, all our maladies both abroad and at  
 home, had at once beene cured: all forraigne enemies,  
 and domesticall conspirators, all differences, all dan-  
 gers, all feares had ceased together. *France* had beene  
 ours most assured: *Spain* would not a little have trem-  
 bled: *Scotland* had beene quiet: our competitors in  
*England* would have quaked: and for the Pope hee  
 might have put up his pipes. Our differences in re-  
 ligion at home, had beene either lesse, or no greater  
 then now they are, for that Monsieur being but a mo-  
 derate Papist, and nothing vehement in his opinions,  
 was content with very reasonable conditions, for  
 himselfe and his strangers onely in use of their con-

D

science,

Gentleman.

Lyessters Fa-  
 ther a tray-  
 terous Pa-  
 pist.

The honour  
 and commo-  
 dities by the  
 marriage  
 with *France*.



*Ethelbert*  
King of  
*Kent*, converted  
*An. dom.*  
603.

science not unlikely (truly) but that in time hee might by Gods grace, and by the great wisdom and vertue of her Majesty have beene brought also to embrace the Gospell, as King *Ethelbert* an heathen was by noble Queene *Bertha* his wife, the first Christian of our *English* Princes.

Vnto all which felicity, if the Lord in mercy should have added also some issue of these royall bodies, (as was not impossible, when first this noble match was moved,) wee then (doubtles) had beene the most fortunate people under heaven, and might have beene (perhaps) the meane to have restored the Gospell throughout all *Europe* besides, as our Brethren of *France* well considered and hoped.

Of all which singular benefits both present and to come, both in *Re* and *Spe*, this Tyrant for his owne private lucre (fearing lest hereby his ambition might be restrained, and his treachery revealed) hath bereaved the Realme, and done what in him lieth besides, to alienate for ever and make our mortall enemy this great Prince, who sought the love of her Majesty with so much honour and confidence as never Princes the like, putting twice his owne person to jeopardy of the Sea, and to the perill of his malicious envious here in *England*, for her Majesties sake.

*Lawyer.*

When you speake of Monsieur (said the Lawyer) I cannot but greatly bee moved, both for these considerations well touched by you, as also for some others especially one wherein (perhaps) you will thinke mee partiall, but truly I am not: for that I speake it onely in respect of the quiet and good of my Countie, and that is, that by Monsieurs match with our noble Princess, besides the hope of issue (which was the principall) there wanted not also probability, that some union or little colleration in religion, betwene  
you

you and us, might have bene procured in this state, as wee see that in some other Countries is admitted to their great good. Which thing (no doubt) would have cut of quite all dangers and dealings from foraine Princes, and would have stopped many devises and plots within the Realme: whereas now by this breach with *France*, wee stand alone as mee seemeth without any great union or friendship abroad, and our differences at home grow more vehement and sharp then ever before. Vpon which two heads, as also upon infinit other causes, purposes, drifts and pretences, there doe ensue dayly more deepe, dangerous and desperate practizes, every man using either the commoditie or necessity of the time and state for his owne purpose, especially, now when all men presume that her Majesty (by the continuall thwartings which have bene used against all her marriage) is not like to leave unto the Realme, that precious Jewell so much and long desired of all English hearts, I meane the Royall heires of her owne body.

Thwartings call you the defeating of all her Majesties most honourable offers of marriage? (saide the other) truly in my opinion you should have used an other word to expresse the nature of so wicked a fact: whereby alone, if there were no other, this unfortunate man, hath done more hurt to his Commonwealth, then if hee had murdered many thousands of her subjects, or betrayed whole armies to the professed enemy. I can remember well my selfe, foure treatises to this purpose, undermined by his meanes; The first with the *Swedish* King: the second with the Archduke of *Austria*: the third with *Henry* King of *France* that now reigneth: and the fourth with the brother and heire of the said Kingdome. For I let

Tolleration  
in Religion,  
with union  
in defence of  
our Country.

Gentleman.

Divers marriages of her  
Majesties.

pasſe many other ſecret motions made by great Potentates to her Maieſty for the ſame purpoſe; but theſe foure are openly knowen, and therefore I name them. Which foure are as well knowen to have been: all diſturbed by this *Dave*, as they were earneſtly purſued by the other.

*Leyceſter* deviſes to drive away all Suters from her Maieſty.

And for the firſt three Suters, hee drove them away, by proteſting and ſwearing that himſelfe was contracted unto her Maieſty, whereof her highneſſe was ſufficiently advertiſed by Cardinall *Cherillon* in the firſt treaty for *France*, and the Cardinall ſoon after puniſhed (as is thought) by this man with poiſon. But yet this ſpeech hee gave out then, every where among his friends both ſtrangers and other, that hee (for ſooth) was aſſured to her Maieſty and conſequently that all other Princes muſt give over their ſutes, for him. Whereunto notwithstanding, when the *Swethen* would hardly give care, this man conferred with his Privado to make a moſt unſeemely and diſloyall prooffe thereof for the others ſatiſfaction, which thing I am enforced by duty to paſſe over with ſilence, for honour to the parties who are touched therein: as alſo I am to conceale his ſaid filthy Privado, though worthy otherwiſe for his diſhoneſty to bee diſplayed to the World: but my Lord himſelfe, I am ſure, doth well remember both the man and the matter. And albeit there was no wiſe man at that time who knowing my L. ſuſpected not the falſe hood, and his arrogant affirmation touching this contract with her Maieſty, yet ſome both abroad and at home might doubt thereof perhaps: but now of late, by his known marriage with his Minion Dame *Letice* of *Esſex*, hee hath declared manifeſtly his owne moſt impudent and diſloyall dealing with his ſoveraigne in this report.

*Leyceſter* convinced himſelfe of impudency.

For

For that report (quoth the Lawyer) I know that it was common and maintained by many, for divers yeares: yet did the wiser sort make no accompt thereof, seeing it came onely from himselfe, and in his owne behalfe. Neither was it credible, that her Majesty who refused so noble Knights and Princes as *Europe* hath not the like: would make choise of so meane a peere as *Robin Dudley* is, noble onely in two descents, and both of them stained with the Block, from which also himselfe, was pardoned but the other day, being condemned thereunto by law for his desert, as appeareth yet in publike records. And for the widdow of *Essex*, I marvaile Sir (quoth hee) how you call her his wife, seeing the canon law standeth yet in forec touching matters of marriage within the Realme.

Oh (said the Gentleman laughing) you meane for that hee procured the poisoning of her Husband, in his journey from *Ireland*. You must thinke that Doctor *Dale* will dispence in that matter, as hee did (at his Lordships appointment) with his *Italian* Physitian Doctor *Julio*, to have two wives at once: at the least wile the matter was permitted, and borne out by them both publiquely (as all the World knoweth) and that against no lesse persons then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himselfe, whose overthrow was principally wrought by this Tyrant for contrarying his will, in so beaustly a demand. But for this controuersie whether the marriage bee good or no, I leave it to bee tried hereafter, betweene my yong L. of *Dombigo*, and M. *Philip Sidney*, whom the same most concerneth. For that it is like to deprive him of a goodly inheritance if it take place, (as some will say that in no reason it can,) not onely in respect of the precedent adultery and murder betweene the parties: but also for that my L. was contracted, at least, to an other

Lawyer.

The basenes  
of *Leycesters*  
ancestors.

Anno r. R.  
Mary.

Gentleman.

Doctor Dale.

Doctor Julio.

The Arch-  
bishops o-  
verthrow for  
not allowing  
two wives to  
*Leycester* his  
Physitian.



The Lady  
Sheffield now  
Embassadelle  
in France.

Lady before, that yet liveth, whereof *M. Edward Dier* and *M. Edmond Tilney* both Courtiers can bee witnesses, and consumated the same contract by generation of children. But this (as I said) must bee left to bee tried hereafter by them which shall have most interest in the case. Onely for the present I must advertise you, that you may not take hold so exactly of all my L. doings in Womens affaires, neither touching their marriages, neither yet their husbands.

The death of  
Leycesters first  
Lady & wife.

Sir Richard  
Varney.

Bald Buttlers

For first his Lordship hath a speciall fortune, that when hee desireth any womans favour, then what person so ever standeth in his way, hath the luck to die quickly for the finishing of his desire. As for example: when his Lordship was in full hope to marry her Majesty, and his owne wife stood in his light, as hee supposed: hee did but send her aside, to the house of his servant *Forster of Cumber* by *Oxford*, where shortly after shee had the chance to fall from a paire of staires, and so to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head. But *Sir Richard Varney* who by commandement remained with her that day alone, with one man onely, and had sent away perforce all her Servants from her, to a market two miles of, hee (I say) with his man can tell how shee died, which man being taken after ward for a felony in the marches of *Wales*, and offering to publish the manner of the said murder, was made away privily in the prison. And *Sir Richard* himselfe dying about the same time in *London*, cried pitioussly, and blasphemed God, and said to a Gentleman of worship of mine acquaintance, not long before his death: that all the Devils in Hell did teare him in peeces. The wife also of *Bald Buttlers* Kinsman to my L. gave out the whole fact a little before her death. But to  
returne

returne unto my purpose, this was my Lords good fortune to have his wife die, at that time when it was like to turne most to his profit.

Long after this, hee fell in love with the Lady *Shffield* whom I signified before, and then also had hee the same fortune to have her Husband die quickly with an extreame reume in his head (as it was given out; ) but as other say, of an artificiall Catarre that stopped his breath. The like good chance had hee in the death of my Lord of *Essex* (as I have said before) and that at a time most fortunate for his purpose: for when hee was coming home from *Ireland*, with intent to revenge himselfe upon my Lord of *Leicester*, for begetting his wife with child in his absence (the child was a daughter and brought up by the Lady *Shandries*, *W. Knowles* his wife: ) my Lord of *Leicester* hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputie, as among other, a couple of the Earles owne servants, *Crompton* (if I misse not his name) yeoman of his bottels, and *Lloid* his Secretary entertained afterward by my Lord of *Leicester*. And so hee died in the way of an extreame Flux, caused by an Italian *Recipe*, as all his friends are well assured: the maker whereof was a Surgion (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from *Italy*. A cunning man and sure in operation, with whom if the good Lady had bene sooner acquainted and used his helpe, shee should not have needed to have sitten so pensive at home and fearefull of her husbands former returne out of the same Countrey, but might have spared the yong child in her belly, which shee was enforced to make away (cruelly and unnaturally) for clearing the house against the good mans arrivall.

Neither must you marvaile though all these died

The suspicious death of the Lord *Shffield*.

The poisoning of the Earle of *Essex*.

The shifting of a child in *Dame Lettice* belly.

The divers  
operation of  
poyson.

Doctor Bayly  
the younger.

in divers manners of outward diseases; for this is the excellency of the *Italian* art, for which this Surgeon and D. *Iulio* were entertained so carefully, who can make a man die, in what manner or shew of sicknesse you will: by whose instructions no doubt but his Lordship is now cunning, especially adding also to these the counsell of his Doctor *Bayly*, a man also not a little studied (as hee seemeth in his art. For I heard him once my selfe in publique act in *Oxford* (and that in presence of my Lord of *Leycester* if I bee not deceived) maintaine, that poison might so bee tempered and given as it should not appeare presently, and yet should kill the party afterward at what time should bee appointed. Which argument belike pleased well his Lordship and therefore was chosen to bee discussed in his audience, if I bee not deceived of his being that day present. So though one die of a *Flax*, and another of a *Catarre*, yet this importeth little to the matter, but sheweth rather the great cunning and skill of the Artificer.

Death of  
Cardinall  
*Chatilian*.

So Cardinall *Chatilian* (as I have said before,) having accused my Lord of *Leycester* to the Queenes Majesty, and after that, passing from *London* towards *France* about the marriage, died by the way at *Canterbury* of a burning Fever: and so proved Doctor *Baylies* assertion true, that poison may bee given to kill at a day.

Scholar.

At this the Lawyer cast up his eyes to Heaven, and I stood somewhat musing and thinking of that which had beene spoken of the Earle of *Essex*, whose case indeed moved mee more then all the rest, for that hee was a very noble Gentleman, a great Advancer of true Religion, a Patron to many Preachers and Students, and towards mee and some of my friends in particular, hee had beene in some things very beneficiall:

shall and therefore I said that it grieved me extremely  
 to heare or thinke of so unworthy a death contri-  
 ved by such means to so worthy a Peere. And so  
 much the more, for that it was my chance, to come  
 to the understanding of divers particulars concern-  
 ing that thing, both from one *Lee* an Irish-man, *Lee*  
*Robin Hannis* and others that were present at *Pen- Henri*  
*towne* the Marchants house in *Dreeding* upon the kay,  
 where the Murder was committed. The matter  
 was wrought especially by *Crampton* yeoman of the  
 bottles, by the procurement of *Edgimayon* having no-  
 ted before, and there was poisoned at the same time  
 and with the same cup (as given of curtesie by the  
 Earle) one *Mistresse Alex Drayke* a godly Conde-  
 woman, whom the Earle affectioned much, who de-  
 parting thence towards her owne bottle, (which  
 was 18 miles of, the foresaid *Lee* accompanying  
 her, and waiting upon her,) shee began to fall sick  
 very grievously upon the way, and continued with  
 increase of paines and excessive torments, by vom-  
 iting, untill shee died, which was the Sunday be-  
 fore the Earles death, ensuing the Friday after,  
 and when shee was dead, her body was swollen unto  
 a monstrous bignesse and deformity, whereof the  
 good Earle hearing the day following, lamented the  
 case greatly, and said, in the presence of his Servants,  
 Ah poore *Alex*, the cup was not prepared for thee,  
 albe it were thy hard destiny to take thereof.  
*Young Hannis* also whose Father is Master of the  
 children of her Majesties Chappell, being at that time  
 Page to the said Earle, and accustomed to take the last  
 of his drinke (though since entertained also among  
 other by my Lord of *Leicester* for better covering of  
 matter) by his last that hee then took of the com-  
 pound cup, (though in very small quantity, as you  
 know

*Mistresse  
 Drayke poi-  
 soned with  
 the Earle of  
 Essex.*



The Earle of  
Essex speech  
to his Page  
Robin Hon-  
nies.

know the fashion is :) yet was hee like to have lost his life, but escaped in the end, (being yong) with the losse onely of his haire: which the Earle perceiving, and taking compassion of the youth, called for a cup of drinke a little before his death, and drunk to *Honnies*, saying: I drinke to thee my *Robin*, and bee not afeard, for this is a better cup of drinke then that, whereof thou tookest the tast when wee were both poisoned, and whereby thou hast lost thy haire and I must loose my life. This hath yong *Honnies* reported openly in divers places, and before divers Gentlemen of worship sithence his coming into *England*, and the foresaid *Lea* Irishman at his passage this way towards *France*, after hee had bene present at the forenamed Mistresse *Draykys* death, with some other of the Earles Servants, have and doe most constantly report the same, where they may doe it without the terrour of my Lord of *Leicester*s revenge. Wherefore in this matter there is no doubt at all, though most extreame vile and intollerable indignity, that such a man should bee so openly murdered without punishment. What Noble-man within the Realme may bee safe if this bee suffered? or what worthy personage will adventure his life in her Majesties service if this shall bee his reward? But (Sir) I pray you pardon mee, for I am somewhat perhaps to vehement in the case of this my Patron and noble Peere of our Realme. And therefore I beseech you to goe forward in your talke whereas you left.

Gentleman.

Death of Sir  
Nicholas  
Throgmorton.

I was recounting unto you others (saide the Gentleman) made away by my Lord of *Leicester* with like art, and the next in order I thinke was Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who was a man whom my Lord of *Leicester* used a great while (as all the World knoweth)

knoweth) to over-shwart and crosse the doings of my Lord Treasurer then Sir *Will. Cecil*, a man specially misliked alwayes of *Leycester*, both in respect of his old Master the Duke of *Somerset*, as also for that his great wisdome, zeale and singular fidelity to the Realme, was like to hinder much this mans designements: wherefore understanding after a certaine time that these two Knights were secretly made friends, and that Sir *Nicholas* was like to detect his doings (as hee imagined,) which might turne to some prejudice of his purposes: (having conceived also a secret grudge and griefe against him, for that hee had written to her Majesty at his being Embassadour in *France*, that hee heard reported at Duke *Monmouthes* table, that the Queene of *England* had a meaning to marry her Horse-keeper) hee invited the said Sir *Nicholas* to a Supper at his house in *London* and at Supper time departed to the Court, being called for (as hee said) upon the sudden by her Majesty, and so perforce would needs have Sir *Nicholas* to sit and occupie his Lordships place, and therein to bee served as hee was: and soone after by a surfeit their taken, hee died of a strange and incurable vomit. But the day before his death, hee declared to a deare friend of his, all the circumstance and cause of his disease, which hee affirmed plainely to bee of poison, given him in a Salat at Supper, inveying most earnestly against the Earles cruelty and bloody disposition, affirming him to bee the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven. But what availed this, when hee had now received the bait.

This then is to shew the mans good fortune, in seeing them dead, whom for causes hee would not have to live. And for his art of poisoning, it is such

Sir *Will. Cecil* now L. Treasurer.

The poisoning of Sir *Nicholas* in a Salat.

The Lord  
Chamber-  
laine.

Monsieur Si-  
miers.

now and reacheth so farre, as hee holdeth all his foes in *England* and els where, as also a good many of his friends in feare thereof, and if it were known how many hee hath dispatched or assaulted that way, it would bee marvailous to the posterity. The late Earle of *Suffex* wanted not a scruple for many yeares before his death, of some draine received that made him incurable. And unto that noble Gentleman Monsieur *Simiers*, it was discovered by great providence of God, that his life was to bee attempted by that art, and that not taking place (as it did not through his owne good circumspection,) it was concluded that the same should bee assaulted by violence, whereof I shall have occasion to lay more hereafter.

The poisoning of the  
Lady *Lenox*.

It hath been told me also by some of the Servants of the late Lady *Lenox*, who was also of the blood Royall by *Scotland* as all men know, and consequently little liked by *Leycester*: that a little before her death or sicknesse, my Lord tooke the paines to come and visit her with extraordinary kinenesse, at her house at *Hartney*, bestowing long discourses with her in private: but as soone as hee was departed, the good Ladie fell into such a Flux, as by no meanes could bee stayed so long as shee had life in her body, whereupon both shee herselfe, and all such as were neare about her, and saw her disease and ending day, were fully of opinion, that my Lord had procured her dispatch at his being there. Whereof let the Women that served her bee examined, as also *Fowler* that then had the chiefe doings in her affaires, and since hath bene entertained by my Lord of *Leycester*. *Mallet* also a stranger borne, that then was about her, a sober and zealous man in religion, and otherwise well qualified, can say somewhat in this point (as I thinke) if hee

hee were demanded: So that this art and exercise of poisoning, is much more perfect with my Lord then praying and hee seemeth to take more pleasure therein.

Now for the second point, which I named, touching marriages and contracts with Women: you must not marvel though his Lordship bee somewhat divers, variable and inconstant, with himselfe, for that according to his profit or his pleasure, and as his lust and liking shall vary (wherein by the judgement of all men, hee surpasseth, not onely *Sardanapalus* and *Nero*, but even *Helioabalmus* himselfe:) so his Lordship also changeth Wives and Minions, by killing the one, deoying the other, using the third for a time, and hee sawning upon the fourth. And for this cause hee hath his teames and pretences (I warrant you) of Contracts, Precontracts, Postcontracts, Protracts, and Retracts: as for example: after hee had killed his first wife, and so broken that contract: then forsooth would hee needs make himselfe Husband to the Queenes Majesty, and so defeat all other Princes by vertue of his precontract. But after this, his lust compelling him to an other place, hee would needs make a postcontract with the Lady *Sheffield*, and so hee did, begetting two children upon her, the one a boy called *Robin Sheffield* now living, some time brought up at *Newington*, and the other a daughter, borne (as is knowen) at *Dudley Castle*. But yet after, his concupiscence changing againe (as it never stayeth) hee resolved to make a retract, of this postcontract, (though it were as surely done (as I have said) as Bed and Bible could make the same) and to make a certaine new, protract, (which is a continuation of using her for a time) with the Widow of *Egar*: But yet to stop the mouths of our

*Leycesters*  
most variable  
dealing with  
Women in  
contracts and  
marriages.

Contracts

Precon-  
tracts.  
Postcon-  
tracts.

Retract

Protract



*Leycesters two  
Testaments.*

criars, and to bury the Synagogue with some honour, (for these two wives of *Leycester*, were merrily and wittily called his old and new Testaments, by a person of great excellency within the Realme) hee was content to assigne to the former a thousand pounds in money with other petty considerations, (the pittifullest abused that ever was poore Lady) and so betake his limmes to the latter, which latter notwithstanding, hee so useth (as wee see) now confessing, now forswearing, now dissembling the marriage: as hee will alwayes yet keepe a voyd place for a new surcontract with any other, when occasion shall require.

*Scholar.*

Now by my truth Sir (quoth I) I never heard nor read the like to this in my life: yet have I read much in my time, of the carnality and licentiousnesse of divers outrageous persons, in this kind of sinne, as namely these whom you have mentioned before: especially the Emperour *Heliogabalus* who passed all other, and was called *Varus*, of the variety of filth which hee used in this kind of carnality, or carnall beastliness. Whose death was: that being at length odious to all men, and so slaine by his owne Souldiers, was drawn through the City upon the ground like a dogge, and cast into the common privy, with this Epitaph. *Hic proleptus est indomita & rabida libidinis catulus.* Here is throwen in, the Whelpe of unruly and raging lust: which Epitaph, may also one day chance to serve my Lord of *Leycester* (whom you call the Beare-whelp,) if hee goe forward as hee hath begonne, and die as hee deserveth.

*Varus Heliogabalus, and his most infamous death.*

*An Epitaph.*

*A pittifull  
petition.*

But (good Sir) what a compassion is this, that among us Christians, and namely in so well governed, and religious a Common-wealth as ours is, such a riot should bee permitted upon mens wives, in a subject

subject: whereas wee read that among the very Hea-  
 thens, lesse offences then these, in the same kind,  
 were extremely punished in Princes themselves,  
 and that not onely in the person delinquent alone,  
 but also by extirpation of the whole family for his  
 sake, as appeareth in the example of the *Tarquinians*  
 among the *Romans*. And here also in our owne  
 Realme, wee have registred in Chronicle, how that  
 one King *Edwin* above six hundred yeares past was  
 deprived of his Kingdome, for much lesse scandalous  
 facts then these.

The extirpa-  
 tion of the  
*Tarquinians*.

An. dom.  
 959.

I remember well the story (quoth the Gentleman)  
 and thereby doe easily make conjecture, what diffe-  
 rence there is betwixt those times of old, and our  
 dayes now: seeing then, a crowned Prince could  
 not passe unpunished with one or two outrageous  
 acts, whereas now a subject raised up but yesterday  
 from the meaner sort, rangeth at his pleasure in all li-  
 centiousnesse, and that with security, void of feare  
 both of God and man. No mans wife can bee free  
 from him, whom his fire lust liketh to abuse, nor their  
 Husbands able to resist nor save from his violence,  
 if they shew dislike, or will not yeeld their consent  
 to his doings. And if I should discover in particu-  
 lar how many good Husbands hee had plagued in  
 this nature, and for such delights, it were intollerable:  
 for his concupiscence and violence doe runne joyntly  
 together, as in furious beasts wee see they are accusto-  
 med. Neither holdeth hee any rule in his lust be-  
 sides onely the motion and suggestion of his owne  
 sensuality. Kindred, affinity or any other band of con-  
 sanguinity: religion, honour or honesty taketh no  
 place in his outrageous appetite. What hee best  
 liketh that hee taketh as lawfull for the time. So  
 that King-woman, allie, friends wife, or daughter,

*Gentleman*

The intolla-  
 rable licen-  
 tiousnesse of  
*Lycesters*  
 carnality.

or.

or whatsoever female sort besides doeth please his eye : (I leave out of purpose and for honour sake tearmes of kinred more neare) that must yeeld to his desire.

The keeping of the Mother with two or three of her Daughters at once or successively, is no more with him, then the eating of an Henne and her Chicken together. There are not (by report) two Noble women about her Majesty (I speake upon some accompt of them that know much) whom hee hath not solicited by potent wayes : Neither contented with this place of honour, hee hath descended to seeke pasture among the waiting Gentlewomen of her Majesties great Chamber, offering more for their allure-ment, then I thinke *Lais* did commonly take in Co-  
 rinth, if three hundreth pounds for a night, will make up the summe: or if not, yet will hee make it up otherwise : having reported himselfe (to little shame hee hath) that hee offered to an other of higher place, an hundreth pound lands by the yeare with as many  
*Jewels* as most Women under her Majesty used in  
*England*: which was no meane bait to one that used  
 traffique in such marchandize : shee being but the lea-  
 vings of an other man before him, whereof my Lord  
 is nothing squemish. for satisfying of his lust, but can  
 bee content (as they say) to gather up crummes when  
 hee is hungry, even in the very Landry it selfe, or  
 other place of baser quality.

Money well  
 spent.

Anne Vavi-  
 ser.

The punish-  
 ments of  
 God upon  
 Leicester, to  
 do him good.

And albeit the Lord of his great mercy, to doe him good, no doubt, if hee were revokeable, hath laid his hand upon him, in some chasticement in this World by giving him a broken Belly on both sides of his bowels whereby misery and putrifaction is threat-  
 ned to him dayly : and to his yong Sonne by the  
 Widdow of *Essex*, (being *Filium pecuni*) such a  
 strange

strange calamity of the falling sicknesse in his infancy, \* as well may bee a witnesse of the Parents sinne and wickednesse, and of both their wasted natures in iniquity: yet is this man nothing amended thereby, but according to the custome of all old adulterers, is more libidinous at this day then ever before, more given to procure love in others by Conjuring, Sorcery, and other such meanes. And albeit for himselfe, both age, and nature spent, doe somewhat tame him from the act, yet wanteth hee not will, as appeareth by the *Italian* Ointment, procured not many yeares past by his Surgion or *Monsieur* of that Country, whereby (as they say) hee is able to move his flesh at all times, for keeping of his credit, howsoever his inability bee otherwise for performance: as also one of his Physitians reported to an Earle of this Land, that his Lordship had a bottle for his Bed-head, of tenne pounds the Pint to the same effect. But my Masters whether are wee fallen, unadvised? I am ashamed to have made mention of so base filthinesse.

Not without good cause (quoth I) but that wee are here alone and no man heareth us. Wherefore I pray you let us retorne whereas wee left: and when you named my Lord of *Leycesters* Daughter borne of the Lady *Sheffield* in *Dudley* Castle, there came into my head a pritty story concerning that affaire: which now I will recompt (though somewhat out of order) thereby to draw you from the further stirring of this unsavory puddle, and foule dunghill, whereunto wee are slipped, by following my Lord somewhat to farre in his paths and actions.

Wherefore to tell you the tale as it fell out: I grew acquainted three Moneths past with a certaine Minister, that now is dead, and was the same man that

F

was

\* The children of adulterers shall be consumed, and the seed of a wicked bed shall be rooted out, saith God, *Sap. 3.*

*Leycesters* ointment.

*Leycesters* bottell.

*Scholar.*



A pretty devise.

was used at *Dudley* Castle, for complement of some sacred Ceremonies at the birth of my Lord of *Leycesters* Daughter in that place : and the matter was so ordained, by the wily wit of him that had sowed the seed, that for the better covering of the harvest and secret delivery of the Lady *Sheffield*, the good wife of the Castle also (whereby *Leycesters* appointed gossips, might without other suspicion have access to the place) should faine herselfe to bee with child, and after long and sore travell (God wot) to bee delivered of a cushion (as shee was indeed) and a little after a faire Coffin was buried with a bundell of cloutes in shew of a child : and the Minister caused to use all accustomed prayers and ceremonies for the solemne interring thereof: for which thing, afterward, before his death hee had great griefe and remorse of conscience, with no small detestation of the most irreligious devise of my Lord of *Leycester* in such a case.

An act of Atheisme,

Lawyer.

Here the Lawyer began to laugh a pace both at the devise and at the Minister, and said now truly if my Lords contracts hold no better, but hath so many infirmities, with subtilties, and by-places besides : I would bee loth that hee were married to my Daughter, as meane as shee is.

Gentleman.

But yet (quoth the Gentleman) I had rather of the two bee his wife for the time then his guest : especially if the *Italian* Surgion or Physitian bee at hand.

Lawyer.

True it is, (said the Lawyer) for hee doth not poison his Wives, whereof I somewhat marvaile, especially his first wife, I muse why hee chose rather to make her away by open violence, then by some *Italian* confortive.

Gentleman.

Hereof (said the Gentleman) may bee divers reasons

sons allcaged. First that he was not at that time so skilfull in those *Italian* wares, nor had about him so fit Physitians and Surgions for the purpose: nor yet in trueth doe I thinke that his mind was so settled then in mischief, as it hath beene sithence. For you know, that men are not desperate the first day, but doe enter into wickednesse by degrees, and with some doubt or staggering of conscience at the beginning. And so hee at that time might bee desirous to have his wife made away, for that shee letted him in his designements, but yet not so stony harted as to appoint out the particular manner of her death, but rather to leave that, to the discretion of the murderer.

The first reason why *Leycester* slew his wife by violence, rather then by poison.

Secondly, it is not also unlikely that hee prescribed unto Sir *Richard Varney* at his going thither, that hee should first attempt to kill her by poison, and if that tooke not place then by any other way to dispatch her, howsoever. This I prove by the report of old Doctor *Bayly* who then lived in *Oxford* (an other manner of man then hee who now liveth about my Lord of the same name) and was Professor of the Physick Lecture in the same Vniversity. This learned grave man reported for most certaine, that there was a practize in *Cambridge* among the conspirators, to have poisoned the poore Lady a little before shee was killed, which was attempted in this order.

The second reason.

Doctor Bayly the elder.

They seeing the good Lady sad and heavy (as one that well knew by her other handling that her death was not farre off) began to perswade her, that her disease was abundance of Melancholly and other humours, and therefore would needs counsaile her to take some potion, which shee absolutely refusing to doe, as suspecting still the worst: they sent on

day,

A practise  
for poisoning  
the Lady  
Dudley.

day, (unawares to her) for Doctor Bayly, and desired him to perswade her to take some little potion at his hands, and they would send to fetch the same at Oxford upon his prescription, meaning to have added also somewhat of their owne for her comfort as the Doctor upon just causes suspected; seeing their great importunity, and the small need which the good Lady had of Physick, and therefore hee flatly denied their request, misdoubting (as hee after reported) least if they had poisoned her under the name of his Potion: hee might after have beene hanged for a cover of their sinne. Marry the said Doctor remained well assured that this way taking no place, shee should not long escape violence as after ensued. And the thing was so beaten into the heads of the principall men of the Vniversity of Oxford, by these and other meanes: as for that shee was found murdered (as all men said) by the Crowners inquest, and for that shee being hastily and obscurely buried at *Cummer* (which was condemned above as not advisedly done) my good Lord, to make plaine to the World the great love hee bare to her in her life, and what a grieft the losse of so vertuous a Lady was to his tender heart, would needs have her taken up againe and re-buried in the Vniversity Church at Oxford, with great Pomp and solemnity: That Doctor Babington my Lords Chaplaine, making the publicke funerall Sermon at her second buriall, tript once or twice in his speech, by recommending to there memories that vertuous Lady so pittifully murdered, instead of so pittifully staine.

Doctor Babington.

A third reason.

A third cause of this manner of the Ladies death, may bee the disposition of my Lords nature: which is bold and violent where it feareth no resistance (as all cowardly natures are by kind) and where any difficulty

ficulty or danger appeareth, there, more ready to attempt all by art, subtilty, treason and treachery. And so for that hee doubted no great resistance in the poore Lady to withstand the hands of them which should offer to breake her neck: hee durst the bolder attempt the same openly.

But in the men whom hee poi'oned, for that they were such valiant Knights the most part of them, as hee durst as soone have eaten his scabard, as draw his sword in publique against them: hee was inforced, (as all wretched irfull and dastardly creatures are), to supplant them by fraud and by other mens hands. As also at other times, hee hath sought to doe unto divers other noble and valiant personages, when hee was a fraid to meet them in the field as a Knight should have done.

His treacheries towards, the noble late Earle of *Suffex* in their many breaches, is notorious to all *England*. As also the bloody practizes against divers others.

But as among many, none were more odious and misliked of all men, then those against Monsieur *Simiers* a stranger and Ambassador: whom first hee practised to have poisoned (as hath beene touched before) and when that devise tooke not place, then hee appointed that *Robin Tider* his man, as after upon his ale bench hee confessed) should have slaine him at the Black-friars at *Greenwich* as hee went forth at the garden gate: but missing also of that purpose, for that hee found the Gentleman better provided and guarded then hee expected, hee dealt with certaine *Flas-sinners* and other *Pirates* to sinke him at Sea with the *English* Gentlemen his favourers, that accompanied him at his returne into *France*. And though they missed of this practize also, (as not daring to set upon

The intended Murder of Monsieur *Simiers* by sundry meanes.



him for feare of some of her Majesties ships, who, to breake off this designement attended by speciall commandement, to waite him over in safety) yet the foresaid *English* Gentlemen, were holden foure houres in chace at their comming back: as M. *Rawley* well knoweth being then present, and two of the Chacers named *Clark* and *Harris* confessed afterward the whole designement.

The intended murder of the Earle of Ormond.

*William Killigrew.*

The Earle of *Ormond* in like wise hath often declared, and will avowch it to my Lord of *Leycesters* face, when so ever hee shall bee called to the same, that at such time as this man had a quarell with him and thereby was likely to bee enforced to the field (which hee trembled to thinke of) hee first sought by all meanes to get him made away by secret murder, offering five hundreth pounds for the doing thereof: and secondly when that devise tooke no place, hee appointed with him the field, but secretly suborning his Servant *William Killigrew* to lie in the way where *Ormond* should passe, and so to massaker him with a Calliver, before hee came to the place appointed. Which murder though it tooke no effect, for that the matter was taken up, before the day of meeting: yet was *Killigrew* placed afterward in her Majesties privy Chamber by *Leycester*, for shewing his ready mind, to doe for his Master so faithfull a service.

*Scholar.*

So faithfull a service (quoth I?) truly, in my opinion, it was but an unfit preferment, for so facinorous a fact. And as I would bee loth that many of his *Italians*, or other of that art, should come nigh about her Majesties Kitchen: so much lesse would I, that many such his bloody Champions, should bee placed by him in her highnesse Chamber. Albeit for this Gentleman in particular, it may bee, that with change of

of his place in service, hee hath changed also his mind and affection, and received better instruction in the feare of the Lord.

But yet in generall I must needs say, that it cannot bee but prejudiciall and exceeding dangerous unto our noble Prince and Realme, that any one man whatsoever (especially such a one as the World taketh this man to bee) should grow to so absolute authority and commandry in the Court, as to place about the Princes person (the head, the heart, the life of the land) what so ever people liketh him best, and that now upon their deserts towards the Prince, but towards himselfe: whose fidelity being more obliged to their advancer then to their soveraigne, doe serve for watchmen about the same, for the profit of him, by whose appointment they were placed. Who by their meanes calling indeed but Nettes and Chaines, and invisible bands about that person, whom most of all hee pretendeth to serve, he shutteth up his Prince in a prison most sure, though sweet and senselesse.

Preoccupa-  
tion of her  
Majesties per-  
son.

Neither is this art of aspiring new or strange unto any man that is experienced in affaires of former times: for that it hath bene from the beginning of all government a troden path of all aspirers. In the stories both Sacred and Prophane, forraine and domesticall of all Nations, Kingdomes, Countries, and States you shall read, that such as meant to mount above others, and to governe all at their owne discretion: did lay this for the first ground and principle of their purpose: to possesse themselves of all such, as were in place about the principall: even as hee who intending to hold a great City at his owne disposition, not dareth make open warre against the same: getteth secretly into his hands or at his devotion, all the Townes, Villages,

An ordinary  
way of aspi-  
ring by pre-  
occupation  
of the Princes  
person.

A Compari-  
son.

Villages, Castles, Fortresses, Bulwarkes, Rampires, Waters, Wayes, Ports and Passages, about the same, and so without drawing any sword against the said City, hee bringeth the same into bondage to abide his will and pleasure.

This did all these in the Romane Empire, who rose from subjects to bee great Princes, and to put downe Emperours. This did all those in *France* and other Kingdomes, who at sundry times have tyrannized their Princes. And in our owne Country the examples are manifest of *Vorsiger*, *Harold*, *Henry of Lancaster*, *Richard of Warwick*, *Richard of Gloucester*, *John of Northumberland* and divers others, who by this meane specially, have pulled downe their Lawfull soveraignes.

The way of  
aspiring in  
Duke *Dudley*.

And to speake onely a word or two of the last, for that hee was this mans Father: doth not all *England* know, that hee first overthrew the good Duke of *Somerset*, by drawing to his devotion the very servants and friends of the said Duke? And afterward did not hee possesse himselfe of the Kings owne person, and brought him to the end which is knowen, and before that, to the most shamefull disheriting of his owne Royall Sisters: and all this, by possessing first the principall men, that were in authority about him?

Wherefore Sir if my Lord of *Leycester* have the same plot in his head (as most men thinke) and that hee meaneth one day to give the same push at the Crowne by the House of *Hunsington*, against all the race and line of King *Henry* the seventh in generall, which his Father gave before him, by pretence of the House of *Suffolke*, against the Children of King *Henry* the eight in particular: hee wanteth not reason to follow the same meanes and platforme of planting

ring speciall persons, for his purpose about the Prince for surely his Fathers plot lacked no witty device or preparation, but onely that God overthrew it at the instant: as happily hee may doe this mans ) also notwithstanding any diligence that humane wisdom can use to the contrary.

To this said the Gentleman: that my Lord of *Leicester* hath a purpose to shoot one day at the Diademe by the title of *Hunsington*, is not a thing obscure in it selfe, and it shall bee more plainly proved hereafter. But now will I shew unto you, for your instruction, how well this man hath followed his Fathers platforme (or rather passed the same) in possessing himselfe of all her Majesties servants, friends, and forces, to serve his turne at that time for execution, and in the meane space for preparation.

First, in the privy Chamber, next unto her Majesties Person, the most part are his owne creatures (as hee calleth them) that is, such as acknowledge their being in that place, from him: and the rest hee so over-ruleth either by flattery or feare, as none may dare but to serve his turne. And his raigne is so absolute in this place, (as also in all other parts of the Court) as nothing can passe but by his admission, nothing can bee said, done, or signified, whereof hee is not particularly advertised: no bill, no supplication, no complaint, no lute, no speech, can passe from any man to the Princess (except it bee from one of the Councell) but by his good liking: or if there doe: hee being admonished thereof (as presently hee shall:) the party delinquent is sure after to abide the smart thereof. Whereby hee holdeth as it were a lock upon the eares of his Prince, and the tongues of all her Majesties servants, so surely chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speake any one thing that may offend him, though

*Gentleman*

*Leicesters*  
power in the  
privy Cham-  
ber,



it bee never so true or behovefull for her Majesty to know.

*Leycester*  
married at  
*Wanstead*  
when her  
Majesty was  
at *M. Stanners*  
House Do-  
ctor *Culpeper*  
Physitian  
Minister.

As well appeared in his late marriage with Dame *Essex*, which albeit it was celebrated twice: first at *Killingworth*, and secondly at *Wanstead* (in the presence of the Earle of *Warwick*, Lord *North*, Sir *Francis Knoles* and others.) and this exactly known to the whole Court, with the very day, the place, the witnesses, and the Minister that married them together: yet no man durst open his mouth to make her Majesty privy therunto, untill Monsieur *Simiers* disclosed the same, (and thereby incurred his high displeasure) nor yet in many dayes after for feare of *Leycester*. Which is a subjection most dishonorable and dangerous to any Prince living, to stand at the devotion of his subject, what to heare or not to heare, of things that passe within his owne Realme.

No sute can  
passe but by  
*Leycester*.

And hereof it followeth that no sute can prevaile in Court, bee it never so meane, except hee first bee made acquainted there with, and receive not onely the thanks, but also bee admitted unto a great part of the gaine and commodity thereof. Which, as it is a great injury to the suter: so is it a farre more greater to the bounty, honour and security of the Prince, by whose liberality this man feedeth onely, and fortifieth himselfe, depriving his soveraigne of all grace, thanks, and good will for the same. For which cause also hee giveth out ordinarily, to every suter, that her Majesty is nigh and parsimonious of her selfe, and very difficult to grant any sute, were it not onely upon his incessant solicitation. Whereby hee filleth his owne purse the more, and emptieth the hearts of such as receive benefit, from due thanks to their Princes for the sute obtained.

Read *Poli-*  
*dore* in the 7.  
yeare of King  
*Richard 1.*  
and you shall  
find this pro-  
ceeding of  
certaine a-  
bout that K.  
to bee put as  
a great cause  
of his over-  
throw.

Hereof also ensucth, that no man may bee prefer-

red

red in Court (bee hee otherwise never so well a deserving servant to her Majesty except hee bee one of *Leycesters* faction or followers: none can bee advanced, except hee bee liked and preferred by him: none receive grace, except hee stand in his good favour, no one may live in countenance, or quiet of life, except hee take it, use it, and acknowledge it from him, so as all the favours, graces, dignities, preferments riches and rewards, which her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realme can yeeld: must serve to purchase this man private friends, and favourers, onely to advance his party, and to fortifie his faction. Which faction if by these meanes it bee great, (as indeed it is:) you may not marvaile, seeing the riches and wealth, of so worthy a Common-weale, doe serve him but for a price to buy the same.

Which thing himselfe well knowing, frameth his spirit of proceeding accordingly. And first, upon confidence thereof, is become so insolent and impotent of his Ire that no man may beare the same, how justly or unjustly so ever it bee conceived: for albeit hee begin to hate a man upon bare surmises onely (as commonly it falleth out, ambition being alwayes the mother of suspicion) yet hee prosecuteth the same, with such implacable cruelty, as there is no long abiding for the party in that place. As might bee shewed by the examples of many whom hee hath chased from the Court, upon his onely displeasure, without other cause, being knowne to bee otherwise, zealous Protestants. As Sir *Jerome Bowes*, Master *George Scot*, and others that wee could name.

To this insolency is also joyned (as by nature it followeth) most absolute and peremptory dealing in all things whereof it pleaseth him to dispose, with-

No preferments but by *Leycester* to *Leycesterians*.

*Leycesters* anger and insolency.

*Leycesters* peremptory dealing.

out respect either of reason, order, due, right, subordination, custome, conveniency, or the like: whereof notwithstanding Princes themselves are wont to have regard in disposition of their matters: as for example among the servants of the Queenes Majesties household, it is an ancient and most commendable order and custome, that when a place of higher roome falleth void, hee that by succession is next, and hath made proofe of his worthinesse in an inferiour place, should rise and possesse the same, (except it be for some extraordinary cause) to the end that no man unexperienced or untried, should bee placed in the higher roomes the first day, to the prejudice of others, and disservice of the Prince.

Breaking of  
order in her  
Majesties  
household,

Which most reasonable custome, this man contemning and breaking at his pleasure, thrusteth into higher roomes any person whatsoever, so hee like his inclination or feele his reward: albeit hee neither be fit for the purpose, nor have beene so much as Clarke in any inferiour office before.

Leycesters  
violating of  
all order in  
the country  
abroad.

The like hee useth out of the Court, in all other places where matters should passe by order election or degree: as in the Vniversities, in election of Scholars and heads of houses, in Ecclesiasticall persons, for dignities of Church, in Officers, Magistrates, Stewards of lands, Sheriffes and Knights of the Shires, in Burgesses of the Parliament, in Commissioners, Judges, Justices of the peace, (whereof many in every shire must weare his livery) and all other the like. where this mans will, must stand for reason, and his letters for absolute lawes, neither is there any man, magistrate, or communer in the Realme, who dareth not sooner deny their petition of her Majesties letters, upon just causes (for that her highnesse is content after to bee satisfied with reason) then to resist.

resist the commandement of this mans letters, who will admit no excuse or satisfaction, but onely the execution of his said commandement, bee it right or wrong.

To this answered the Lawyer, now verily (Sir) you paint unto mee a strange paterne of a perfect Potentate in the Court: belike that stranger, who calleth our state in his printed booke *Leycestrensem rempublicam*, a Leycestrian Common-wealth, or the Common-wealth of my Lord of *Leycester*, knoweth much of these matters: But to hold (Sir) still within the Court: I assure you that by considerations, which you have said downe, I doe begin now to perceiue, that his party must needs bee very great and strong within the laid Court, seeing that hee hath so many wayes and meanes to encrease, enrich, and encourage the same, and so strong abilities, to tread downe his enemies. The Common speech of many wanteth not reason I perceiue, which calleth him the heart and life of the Court.

Lawyer.

A Leyce-  
strian Com-  
mon wealth.

They which call him the heart (said the Gentleman) upon a little occasion more, would call him also the head: and then I marvaile what should bee left for her Majesty, when they take from her both life, heart, and headship in her owne Realme? But the truth is, that hee hath the Court at this day, in almost the same case, as his Father had it, in King *Edward*s dayes, by the same device, (the Lord forbid, that ever it come fully to the same state, for then wee know what ensued to the principall:) and if you will have an evident demonstration of this mans power and favour in that place: call you but to mind the times when her Majesty upon most just and urgent occasions, did with-draw, but a little her wonted favour and countenance towards him; did not all the

Gentleman:  
*Leycester* cal-  
led the  
heart and life  
of the Court.



A demon-  
stration of  
*Leycesters* ty-  
rannie in the  
Court.

the Court as it were, mutiny presently? did not every man hang the lippe? except a few, who afterward paid sweetly for their mirth, were there not every day new devises sought out, that some should bee on their knees to her Majesty, some should weepe and put finger in their eyes: other should find out certaine covert manner of threatening: other reasons and persuasions of love: other of profit: other of honour: other of necessitie: and all to get him recalled back to favour againe? And had her Majesty any rest permitted unto her, untill shee had yeilded and granted to the same.

*Leycester* pro-  
videth never  
to come in  
the *Queenes*  
danger againe.

Consider then (I pray you) that if at that time, in his disgrace, hee had his faction so fast assured to himselfe: what hath he now in his prosperity, after so many yeares of fortification? wherein by all reason hee hath not beene negligent, seeing that in policy the first point of good fortification is, to make that fort impregnable, which once hath beene in danger to bee lost. Whereof you have an example in *Richard Duke of Yorke*, in the time of King *Henry* the sixth, who being once in the Kings hands by his owne submission, and dismissed againe (when for his deserts, hee should have suffered: provided after, that the King should never bee able to over-reach him the second time, or have him in his power to doe him hurt, but made himselfe strong enough to pull downe the other with extirpation of his family.

Anno Regni  
31.

*Leycesters*  
puissance in  
the privy  
Councell.

And this of the Court, household and Chamber of her Majesty. But now if wee shall passe from Court to Councell, wee shall find him no lesse fortified: but rather more: for albeit the providence of God hath beene such, that in this most honourable assemblie, there hath not wanted some two or three of the wisest, gravest, and most experienced in our state, that have

have seene and marked this mans perillous proceedings from the beginning, (whereof notwithstanding two are now diseased, and their places supplied to *Leycesters* good liking:) yet (alas) the wisdom of these worthy men, hath discovered alwayes more, then their authorities were able to redresse: (the others great power and violence considered) and for the residue of that bench and table, though I doubt not but there bee divers, who doe in heart detest his doings (as there were also, no doubt among the Councellours of King *Edward*, who misliketh this mans Fathers attempts; though not so hardy as to contrary the same:) yet for most part of the Councell present, they are knowne to bee so affected in particular, the one for that hee is to him a Brother, the other a Father, the other a Kinsman, the other an allie, the other a fast obliged friend, the other a fellow or follower in faction; as none will stand in the breach against him: none dare resist or encounter his designements: but every man yeelding rather to the force of his flow, permitte him to pearce, and passe at his pleasure, in whatsoever his will is phoe settled to obtaine.

And hereof (were I not stayed for respect of some whom I may not name) I could alledge strange examples, not so much in affaires belonging to Subjects and to private men; (as were the cases of *Sunderland* Forrest, *Dunbligh* of *Killingworth*, of his faire Pastures fowly procured by *Soucham*, of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of the *L. Barkley*, of Sir *John Throgmorton*, of Master *Robinson* and the like;) wherein those of the Councell that disliked his doings, least dared to oppose themselves to the same: but also in things that appertaine directly to the Crowne and dignity to the State and Common-wealth, and to the safety

L. Keeper.  
L. Chamber-  
laine.

Matters  
wherein the  
Councell are  
inforced to  
winke at *Ley-  
cester*.

safety and continuance thereof. It is not secure for any one Councellour, or other of authority, to take notice of my Lords errors or misdoeds, but with extreame perill of there owne ruine.

*Leycesters*  
intelligence  
with the re-  
bellion in  
*Ireland.*

As for example: in the beginning of the rebellion in *Ireland*, when my Lord of *Leycester* was in some disgrace, and consequently, as hee imagined but in fraile state at home, hee thought it not unexpedient, for his better assurance, to hold some intelligence also that way, for all events, and so hee did: whereof there was so good evidence and testimony found, upon one of the first of accompt, that was there slaine, (as honourable personages of their knowledge have assured mee) as would have beene sufficient, to touch the life of any subject in the land, or in any state Christian, but onely my Lord of *Leycester*: who is a subject without subjection.

For what thinke you? durst any man take notice hereof, or avouch that hee had seene thus much? durst hee that tooke it in *Ireland*, deliver the same where especially hee should have done? or they who received it in *England*, (for it came to great hands,) use it to the benefit of their Princes and Country? No surely: for if it had beene but onely suspected, that they had scene such a thing, it would have beene as dangerous unto them as it was to *Alston* to have scene *Dianna* and her Maidens naked: whose case is so common now in *England* as nothing more, and so doe the examples of divers well declare: whose unfortunate knowledge of to many secrets, brought them quickly to unfortunate ends.

*Alston's* case  
now come in  
*England.*

*Salvateur*  
slaine in his  
bed.

For wee heare of one *Salvateur* a stranger, long used in great Mysteries of base affaires and dishonest actions, who afterward (upon what demerit I know not) sustained a hard fortune, for being late with my  
Lord

Lord in his study, well neare untill midnight, (if I bee rightly informed) went home to his Chamber, and the next morning was found haine in his bed. Wee heare also of one *Doughty*, hanged in hast by Captaine *Drake* upon the Sea, and that by order (as is thought) before his departure out of *England*, for that hee was over privy to the secrets of this good Earle.

*Doughty*  
hanged by  
*Drake*.

There was also this last Summer past, one, *Gates* hanged at *Tiborne*, among others, for robbing of Carriers, which *Gates* had bene lately Clarke of my Lords Kitching, and had layed out much money of his owne, (as hee said) for my Lords provision, being also otherwise, in so great favour and grace with his Lord as no man living was thought to bee more privy of his secrets then this man, whereupon also it is to bee thought, that hee presumed the rather to commit this robbery, (for to such things doth my Lords good favour most extend :) and being apprehended and in danger for the same, hee made his recourse to his honour for, protection, (as the fashion is) and that hee might bee borne out, as divers of lesse merit had bene by his Lordship, in more heinous causes before him.

The story of  
*Gates* hanged  
at *Tiborne*,

The good Earle answered his Servant and deare Privado curteously, and assured him, for his life, how so ever for utter shew or complement the forme of Law might passe against him. But *Gates* seeing himselfe condemned, and nothing now betweene his head and the halter, but the word of the Magistrate which might come in an instant, when it would bee too late to send to his Lord : remembring also the small assurance of his said Lords word by his former dealings towards other men, whereof this man was too much privy : hee thought good to sollicite his case also

H

by



by some other of his friends, though not so puissant as his Lord and Master, who dealing indeed, both diligently and effectually in his affaire, found the matter more difficult a great deale then either hee or they had imagined: for that my Lord of *Leycester*, was not onely not his favorer, but a great hastener of his death under hand; and that with such care, diligence, vehemency, and irresistable meanes, (having the Law also on his side,) that there was no hope at all of escaping: which thing when *Gates* heard of, hee easily beleaved for the experience hee had of his Masters good nature, and said, that hee alwayes mistrusted the same, considering how much his Lordship was in debt to him, and hee made privie to his Lordships foule secrets, which secrets hee would, there presently have uttered in the face of all the World, but that hee feared torments or speedy death, with some extraordinary cruelty, if hee should so have done, and therefore hee disclosed the same onely to a Gentleman of worship, whom hee trusted specially, whose name I may not utter for some causes (but it beginneth with H.) and I am in hope ere it bee long, by meanes of a friend of mine, to have a sight of that discourse and report of *Gates*, which hitherto I have not seene nor ever spake I with the Gentleman that keepeth it, though I bee well assured that the whole matter passed in substance as I have here recounted it.

*Scholar.*  
This relation of *Gates*, may serve hereafter for an addition in the second edition of this booke,

Whereunto I answered, that in good faith it were pittie that this relation should bee lost, for that it is very like, that many rare things bee declared therein, seeing it is done by a man so privy to the affaires themselves, wherein also hee had beene used an instrument. I will have it (quoth the Gentleman) or els my friends shall faile mee, howbeit not so soone

as I would, for that hee is in the West countrey that should procure it for mee, and will not returne for certaine months, but after I shall see him againe, I will not leave him untill hee procure it for mee, as hee hath promised well (quoth I,) but what is become of that evidence found in *Ireland* under my Lords hand, which no man dare pursue, avouch, or be- hold.

Truly (said the Gentleman) I am informed that it lieth safely reserved in good custody, to bee brought forth and avouched, when so ever it shall please God so to dispose of her Majesties heart, as to lend an indifferent eare, as well to his accusers, as to himselfe, in judgement.

Gentleman,

Neither must you thinke, that this is strange, nor that the things are few, which are in such sort reserved in deck for the time to come, even among great personages, and of high calling, for seeing the present state of his power to bee such, and the tempest of his tyrannic to bee so strong and boisterous, as no man may stand in the rage thereof, without perill, for that even from her Majesty her selfe, in the lenity of her Princely nature, hee extorteth what hee designeth, either by fraud, flattery, false information, request, pretence, or violent importunity, to the overbearing of all, whom hee meaneth to oppresse: No marvaile then though many even of the best and faithfullest subjects of the Land, doe yeeld to the present time, and doe keepe silence in some matters, that otherwise they would take it for duty to utter.

The deck reserved for  
Leycester.

Leycesters  
puissant violence with  
the Prince  
herselfe,

And in this kind; it is not long since a worshipfull and wise friend of mine told mee a testimony in secret, from the mouth of as noble and grave a Councellour, as *England* hath enjoyed these

The Earle of  
Suffex his  
speech of the  
Earle of Ley-  
cester.

The Lord  
Burghley.

Leycesters  
power in the  
Country a-  
broad.

many hundreth yeares : I meane the late Lord Cham-berlaine, with whom my said friend being alone at his house in *London*, not twenty dayes before his death, conferred somewhat familiarly about these and like matters, as with a true father of his Countrey and Common-wealth : and after many complaints in the behalfe of diuers, who had opened their griefes unto Councillours, and saw that no notice would bee taken thereof : the said noble man, turning himselfe somewhat about from the water (for hee late neare his pond side, where hee beheld the taking of a pike or carpe) said to my friend : It is no marvaile (Sir) for who dareth intermeddle himselfe in my Lords affaires ? I will tell you (quoth hee) in confidence betweene you and mee, there is as wise a man and as grave, and as faithfull a Councillour, as *England* breedeth, (meaning thereby the Lord Treasurer) who hath as much in his keeping of *Leycesters* owne hand writing, as is sufficient to hang him, if either hee durst present the same to her Majesty, or her Majesty doe justice when it should bee presented. But indeed (quoth hee) the time permitteth neither of them both, and therefore it is in vaine for any man to struggle with him.

These were that noble mans words, whereby you may consider whether my Lord of *Leycester* bee strong this day in Councell or no; and whether his fortification bee sufficient in that place.

But now if out of the Councell, wee will turne but our eye in the Countrey abroad, wee shall find as good fortification also there, as wee have perused already in Court and Councell ; and shall well perceive that this mans plot, is not fond or indiscreet plot, but excellent well grounded, and such as in all proportions hath his due correspondence.

Con-

Consider then, the chiefe and principall parts of this land for martiall affaires, for use and commodi-ty of armour, for strength, for opportunity, for liberty of the people, as dwelling farthest of from the presence and aspect of their Prince, such parts (I say) as are fittest for sudden enterprises, without danger of interception: as are the North, the West, the Countries of Wales, the Islands round about the land, and sundry other places within the same: Are they not all at this day at his disposition? are they not all (by his procurement) in the onely hands of his friends and allies? or of such, as by other matches, have the same complot and purpose with him?

In *York* is president, the man that of all other is fittest for that place, that is, his nearest in affinity, his dearest in friendship, the head of his faction, and open competitor of the Scepter. In *Barnick* is Capitaine, his Wives uncle, most assured to himselfe and *Huntington*, as one who at convenient time, may as much advance their designements, as any one man in *England*.

In *Wales* the chiefe authority from the Prince, is in his owne brother in law: but among the people, of naturall affection, is in the Earle of *Pembroke*: who both by marriage of his sisters daughter is made his ally, and by dependence is knowne to bee wholly, at his disposition,

The West part of *England* is under *Bedford*, a man wholly devoted to his and the Puritans faction.

In *Ireland* was governour of late the principall instrument appointed for their purposes: both in respect of his heart and affection toward their designements, as also of some secret discontentment, which hee hath towards her Majesty and the state present

*York* Earle of *Huntington*.  
*Barnick*.  
The Lord *Hunsden*.  
*Wales*.  
Sir *Henry Sidney*.  
The Earle of *Pembroke*.

The West Earle of *Bedford*.  
The Lord *Grey*.



† Her Majesty  
(as he saith,  
for striking  
of Master

*Fortescue* cal-  
led him lame  
wretch: that  
grieved him  
so, (for that  
hee was hurt  
in her service  
at *Lierb*) as  
hee said, hee  
would live to  
be revenged.

for certaine hard † speaches and ingrate recompences, as hee pretendeth: but indeed for that hee is knowne to bee of nature fyrie, and impatient of stay, from seeing that Common-wealth on foote, which the next competitours for their gaine, have painted out to him and such others, more pleasant then the Terrestriall Paradise it selfe.

This then is the *Hellor*, this is the *Ajax*, appointed for the enterprife, when the time shall come. This must bee (forsooth) an other *Richard* of *Warwick*, to gaine the Crowne for *Henry* the ninth of the House of *Yorke*: as the other *Richard* did put downe *Henry* the sixt of the House of *Lancaster*, and placed *Edward* the fourth, from whom *Huntington* deriveth his title: therefore this man is necessarily to bee entertained from time to time, (as wee see now hee is) in some charge and martiall action, to the end his experfence, power, and credit may grow the more, and hee bee able at the time to have souldiers at his commandement. And for the former charge which held of late in *Ireland*, as this man had not bene called away, but for execution of some other secret purpose, \* for advancement of their designements: so bee well assured that for the time to come, it is to bee furnished againe with a sure and fast friend to *Leycester* and to that faction.

\* In *Scotland*  
or els where,  
against the  
next inheri-  
tours or pre-  
sent possessor.

Sir *Iohn*  
*Parotte*.

Sir *Edward*  
*Horsey*.

Sir *George*  
*Carew*.

Sir *Anias*  
*Paulet*.

Sir *Thomas*  
*Layton*.

In the Ile of *Wight* I grant that *Leycester* hath lost a great friend and a trusty servant by the death of Captaine *Horsey*, but yet the matter is supplied by the succession of an other, no lesse assured unto him, then the former, or rather more, through the band of affinity by his wife. The two Ilands of *Gersey* and *Gernsey* are in the possession of two friends and most obliged dependents. The one, by reason hee is exceedingly addicted to the Puritane proceedings: the

the other, as now being joyned unto him by the marriage of Mistres *Besse* his wives Sister, both Daughters to Sir *Francis*, or (at least) to my Lady *Knooles*, and so become a rivale, companion and brother, who was before (though trusty) yet but his servant.

And these are the chiefe Keyes, Fortresses, and Bulwarkes, within, without and about the Realme, which my Lord of *Leicester* possessing, (as hee doth,) hee may bee assured of the body within: where notwithstanding (as hath beene shewed) hee wanteth no due preparation for strength: having at his disposition (besides allaydes and other helpes specified before) her Majesties horse, and stables, by interest of his owne office: her Armour, Artillery and Munition, by the office of his brother the Earle of *Warwick*. The Tower of *London* and treasure therein, by the dependence of Sir *Owin Hopton* his sworne servant, as ready to receive and furnish him with the whole (if occasion served) as one of his predecessours was, to receive his Father in King *Edwards* dayes, for the like effect, against her Majesty, and her Sister.

And in the City of *London* it selfe, what this man at a pinch, could doe, by the helpe of some of the principall men, and chiefe leaders, and (as it were) Commanders of the Commons there, and by the bestirring of *Fleetwood* his madde Recorder, and other such his instruments: as also in all other Townes, Ports and Cities of importance, by such of his owne setting up, as he hath placed there to serve his designements, and justices of peace with other, that in most Shires doe weare his livery, and are at his appointment: the simplest man within the Realme doth consider.

Her Majesties stable.  
Her armour,  
munition,  
and artillery.  
The Tower.

*London*.  
Sir *Roland*  
*Heyward*, &c.  
Madde *Fleetwood*.

Whence

Whereunto if you adde now his owne forces and furniture, which hee hath in *Killingworth* Castle and other places, as also the forces of *Huntington* in particular, with their friends, followers, allies, and Compartenors: you shall find that they are not behind in their preparations.

*Scholar.*  
My Lord of  
*Huntingtons*  
preparation  
at *Asbby*.

*Killingworth*  
Castle.

For my Lord of *Huntingtons* forwardnesse in the cause (said I) there is no man, I thinke, which maketh doubt: marry for his private forces, albeit they may bee very good, for any thing I doe know to the contrary, (especially at his house within five and twenty miles of *Killingworth*, where one told mee some yeares past, that hee had furniture ready for five thousand men: ) yet doe I not thinke, but that they are farre inferiour to my Lord of *Leycester* who is taken to have excessive store, and that in divers places. And as for the Castle last mentioned by you, there are men of good intelligence, and of no small judgement, who report, that in the same, hee hath well to furnish, ten thousand good souldiers, of all things necessary both for horse and man, besides allover munitiion, armour, & artillery, (whereof great store was brought thither under pretence of triumph, when her Majesty was there, and never as yet carried back againe) and besides the great abundance of ready Coine, there laid up (as is said) sufficient for any great exploit to bee done within the Realme.

*Ralph Lane.*

And I know that the estimation of this place was such, among divers, many yeares agoe: as when at a time her Majesty lay dangerously sick, and like to die, at *Hampton* Court, a certaine Gentleman of the Court, came unto my Lord of *Huntington*, and told him, that for so much as hee tooke his Lord to bee next in succession after her Majesty, hee would offer him a meane of great helpe, for compassing of his purpose, after the

the discease of her Majesty which was, the possession of *Killingworth* Castle (for at that time those two Earles were not yet very friends, nor confederate together) and that being had, hee shewed to the Earle the great furniture and wealth, which thereby hee should possesse for pursuite of his purpose.

The offer  
and accep-  
tion of *Kil-  
lingworth*  
Castle.

The proposition was well liked, and the matter esteemed of great importance, and consequently received with many thanks. But yet afterward her Majesty by the good providence of God, recovering againe, letted the execution of the bargaine: and my Lord of *Huntington* having occasion to joyne amity with *Leycester*, had more respect to his owne commodity, then to his friends security, (as commonly in such persons and cases it falleth out) and so discovered the whole device unto him, who forgot not after, from time to time, to plague the deviser by secret means, untill hee had brought him to that poore estate, as all the World seeth: though many men bee not acquainted with the true cause of this his disgrace and bad fortune.

To this answered the Lawyer: In good faith (Gentlemen) you open great mysteries unto mee, which either I knew not, or considered not so particularly before, and no marvaile, for that my profession and exercise of law, restraineth mee from much company keeping: and when I happen to bee among some that could tell mee much herein, I dare not either aske, or heare if any of himselfe beginne to talke, least afterward the speech comming to light, I bee fetched over the coals (as the proverbe is) for the same, under pretence of an other thing. But you (who are not suspected for religion) have much greater priviledge in such matters, both to heare and speake againe, which men of mine estate dare not doe: Onely this I knew

Lawyer?



The prerogative of my Lord of *Leycester*.

before, that throughout all *England* my Lord of *Leycester* is taken for *Dominus factorum*: Whose excellency above others is infinite, whose authority is absolute, whose commandement is dreadfull, whose dislike is dangerous, and whose favour is omnipotent.

And for his will, though it bee seldome law, yet alwayes is his power above law: and therefore wee Lawyers in all cases brought unto us, have as great regard to his inclination, as Astronomers have to the Planet dominant, or as Sea-men have to the North-Role.

*Leycester* the Starre directory to Lawyers in their clients affaires.

For as they that faile, doe direct their course, according to the situation and direction of that starre which guideth them at the Pole: and as Astronomers who make prognostications, doe foretell things to come, according to the aspect of the Planet dominant, or bearing rule for the time: so wee doe guide out Clients barke; and doe prognosticate what is like to ensue of his cause, by the aspect and inclination of my Lord of *Leycester*. And for that reason, as soone as ever wee heare a case proposed, our custome is to aske, what part my Lord of *Leycester* is like to favour in the matter (for in all matters lightly of any importance, hee hath a part) or what may bee gathered of his inclination therein: and according to that wee give a ghesse, more or lesse, what end will ensue.

But this (my Masters) is from the purpose: and therefore returning to your former speech againe, I doe say, that albeit I was not privy before to the particular provisions of my Lord and his friends, in such and such places: yet seeing him accompted Lord generall over all the whole Realme, and to have at his commandement, all these severall commodities and forces

forces pertaining to her Majesty which you have mentioned before, and so many more as bee in the Realme, and not mentioned by you (for in fine, hee hath all.)

I could not but accompt him (as hee is) a potent Prince of our state, for all furniture needfull to defence or offence, or rather the onely Monarch of our nobility, who hath sufficient of himselfe to plunge his Prince, if hee should bee discontented, especiall for his abundance of money, (which, by the wise, is tearmed the Sinewes of Martiall actions) wherein by all mens judgements, hee is better furnished at this day, than ever any subject of our land, either hath beene heretofore, or lightly may bee hereafter, both for bankes without the Realme, and stuffed coffers within. Infomuch that being my selfe in the last Parliament, when the matter was moved, for the grant of a Subsidie, after that, one for her Majesty had given very good reasons, why her highnesse was in want of money, and consequently needed the assistance of her faithfull subjects therein, an other that sat next mee of good accompt said in mine eare secretly: these reasons I doe well allow, and am contented to give my part in money; but yet, for her Majesties need, I could make answer as one answered once the Emperour *Tiberius* in the like case and cause: *Abundus ei pecuniam fore, si a libertis suis in societatem recipere cur;* that her Majesty should have money enough, if one of her servants would vouchsafe to make her highnesse partaker with him: meaning thereby my Lord of *Leycester*, whose treasure must needs in one respect, bee greater, then that of her Majesty; for that hee layeth up whatsoever hee getteth, and his expenses hee cauteh upon the purse of his Princes.

For that (said the Gentleman) whether hee doe or no, it importeth little to the matter: seeing both that

*Leycesters furniture in money.*

The saying of a Knight of the Shure touching *Leycesters* money.

*Gentleman,*

The infinite  
wayes of gain-  
ing that  
Leycester  
hath;

Sutes.

Lands.

Licences.

Falling out  
with her Ma-  
jesty.

Offices.

Clergy.

which hee spendeth, and that hee hoꝛdeth, is truly and properly his Princes Treasure: and seeing hee hath so many and diuers wayes of gaining, what should hee make accompt of his owne private expences? if hee lay out one for a thousand, what can that make him the poorer? hee that hath so goodly lands, possessions, Seigniories and rich offices of his owne, as hee is knowne to have: hee that hath so speciall fauour and authority with the Prince, as hee can obtaine whatsoeuer hee listeth to demand: hee that hath his part and portion in all sutes besides, that passe by grace, or els (for the most part) are ended by law: hee that may chop and change what lands hee listeth with her Majestie, dispoile them of all their woods and other commodities, and rack them afterward to the uttermost penny, and then returne the same, so tenter-stretched and bare-shorne, into her Majesties hands againe, by fresh exchange, rent for rent, for other lands never enhanced before: hee that possesseth so many gainfull licences to himselfe alone of wine, oyles, currants, cloath, velvets, with his new office for licence of alienation, most pernicious unto the Common-wealth, as hee useth the same, with many other the like, which were sufficient to enrich whole Townes, Corporations, Countries, and Commonwealths: hee that hath the art, to make gainfull to himselfe every offence, displeasure, and falling out of her Majesty with him, and every angry countenance cast upon him: hee that hath his share in all offices of great profit and holdeth an absolute Monopolie of the same: hee that disposeth at his will the Ecclesiasticall livings of the Realme, maketh Bishops, none, but such as will doe reason, or of his Chaplaines whom hee listeth, and retaineth to himselfe so much of the living as liketh him best: hee that sweepeth away the  
glebe.

glebe from so many benefices throughout the land and compoundeth with the person for the rest. Hee that so scoureth the Vniuersity and Colledges where hee is Chancellor, and selleth both headships and Schollars places, and all other offices, roomes and dignities, that by art or violence may yeeld money: hee that maketh title to what land or other thing hee please, and driveth the parties to compound for the same: hee that taketh in whole Forests, Commons, Woods and Pastures to himselfe, compelling the tenants to pay him new rent, and what hee cesteeth: hee that vexeth and oppresseth whomsoever hee list, taketh from any what hee list, and maketh his owne claime, sute, and end as hee list: hee that selleth his favour with the Prince, both abroad in forraine Countries, and at home, and setteth the price thereof what himselfe will demand: hee that hath and doth all this, and besides this, hath infinite presents dayly brought unto him of great valew, both in Jewels, Plate, all kind of Furniture and ready Coine: this man (I say) may easily beare his owne expences, and yet lay up sufficiently also to weary his Prince when needs shall require.

You have said much Sir, (quoth the Lawyer) and such matter, as toucheth neerely both her Majesty and the Common-wealth: and yet in my conscience if I were to plead at the barre for my Lord: I could not tell which of all these members to deny. But for that which you mention in the last part, of his gaining by her Majesties favour, both at home and abroad: Touching his home-gaine it is evident, seeing all that hee hath is gotten onely by the opinion of her Majesties favour towards him: and many men doe repaire unto him, with fat presents, rather for that they suppose, hee may by his favour doe them hurt, if hee feele not

Benefices.

Vniuersity.

Oppressions.

Rapines.

Princes favour.

Presents.

Lawyer.

Lycesters  
home-gaine  
by her Majesties favour.



their reward, then for that they hope hee will labour any thing in their affaires.

A pretty story.

You remember (I doubt not) the story of him, that offered his Prince a great yearely rent, to have but this favour onely, that hee might come every day in open audience, and say in his care, God save your Majestie, assuring himselfe, that by the opinion of confidence and secret favour, which hereby the people would conceive to bee in the Prince towards him, hee should easily get up his rent againe double told. Wherefore, my Lord of *Leycester* receiving dayly from her Majestie greater tokens of grace and favour then this, and himselfe being no evill marchant, to make his owne bargaine for the best of his commodities: cannot but gaine exceedingly at home by his favour.

*Leycesters*  
foraine gain  
by her Majesties  
favour.

And for his Lucre abroad upon the same cause, I leave to other men to conceive, what it may bee, since the beginning of her Majesties raigne, the times whereof and condition of all Christendome hath beene such, as all the Princes and Potentates round about us, have beene constrained at one time or other, to sue to her highnesse for ayd, grace, or favour: in all which suites, men use not to forget (as you know) the parties most able by their credite, to further or let the same.

In particular onely this I can say, that I have heard of sundry French-men, that at such time, as the treaty was betweene *France* and *England*, for the re-delivery of *Calis* unto us againe, in the first yeare of her Majesties raigne that now is, when the French-men were in great distresse and misery, and King *Philip* refused absolutely to make peace with them, except *Calis* were restored to *England* (whether for that purpose hee had now delivered the French hostages) the

the French-men doe report ( I say ) that my Lord of *Leycester* stood them in great stead at that necessity, for his reward, (which you may well imagine was not small, for a thing of such importance,) and became a suter, that peace might bee concluded, with the release of *Calis* to the French: which was one of the most impious facts (to say the truth,) that ever could bee devised against his Commonwealth.

*Leycesters*  
bribe for be-  
traying of  
*Calis*.

A small matter in him (said the Gentleman) for in this hee did no more, but as Christ said of the Jewes: that they filled up the measure of their Fathers sinnes. And so if you read the story of King *Edwards* time, you shall find it most evident, that this mans Father before him, sold *Bulloigne* to the French by like treachery. For it was delivered up upon composition, without necessity or reason, the five and twenty of *April*, in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* the sixt, when hee (I meane Duke *Dudley*) had now put in the Tower the Lord Protector; and thrust out of the Councell whom hee listed: as namely the Earles of *Arundell* and *Southampton*, and so invaded the whole government himselfe, to sell, spoile and dispose at his pleasure. Wherefore this is but naturall to my Lord of *Leycester* by discent, to make marchandize of the state, for his Grandfather *Edmund* also, was such a kind of *Copefman*.

Gentleman.

*Leycesters*  
Father sold  
*Bulloigne*.

Earles of *Arundell* and  
*Southampton*  
put out of  
the Councell  
by *D. Dudley*.

An evill race of Marchants for the Commonwealth (quoth the Lawyer) but yet, Sir, I pray you (said hee) expound unto mee somewhat more at large, the nature of these licences which you named, as also the changing of lands with her Majesty, if you can set it downe any plainer: for they seeme, to bee things of excessive gaine: especially his way of gaining by offending her Majesty, or by her highnesse offence to-wards

Lawyer.

wards him, for it seemeth to bee a device above all skill or reason.

*Leicester*  
gaine by fall-  
ling out with  
her Majesty.

Not so (quoth the Gentleman) for you know that every falling out must have an attonement againe, whereof hee being sure by the many and puissant meanes of his friends in Court, as I have shewed before, who shall not give her Majesty rest untill it bee done: then for this attonement, and in perfect reconciliation on her Majesties part, she must grant my Lord some sute or other, which hee will have alwayes ready provided for that purpose, and this sute shall bee well able to reward his friends, that laboured for his reconciliation, and leave also a good remainder for himselfe. And this is now so ordinary a practize with him, as all the Realm observeth the same, and disdaineth that her Majesty should bee so unworthily abused. For if her highnesse fall not out with him as often as hee desireth to gaine this way, then hee picketh some quarrell or other, to shew himselfe discontented with her, so that one way or other, this gainefull reconciliation must bee made, and that often for his commodity. The like art hee exerciseth in inviting her Majesty to his banquettes and to his houses, where if she come, shee must grant him in sutes, ten times so much as the charges of all amount unto: so that *Robin* playeth the Broker in all his affaires, and maketh the uttermost penny of her Majestic every way.

*Gentleman.*

Now for his change of lands, I thinke I have beene reasonable plaine before: yet for your fuller satisfaction, you shall understand his further dealing therein, to bee in this sort. Besides the good lands and of ancient possession to the Crowne, procured at her Majesties hand, and uted as before was declared: hee useth the same trick for his worst lands, that hee possesseth

seeth any way; whether they come to him, by extor-  
meanes and plaine oppression, or through maintenance  
& broken titles, or by coustume of simple Gentlemen,  
to make him their heire, or by what hard title or un-  
honest meanes so ever, (for hee practizeth store of  
such and thinketh little of the reckoning:) after hee  
hath tried them likewise to the uttermost touch, and  
letted them out to such as shall gaine but little by the  
bargaine: then goeth hee and changeth the same with  
her Majesty for the best lands hee can pick out of  
the Crowne, to the end that hereby hee may, both en-  
force her Majesty to the defence of his bad titles, and  
himselſe fill his coffers with the fines and uttermost  
commodity of both the lands.

*Leysellers*  
fraudulent  
change of  
lands with  
her Majesty  
whereby hee  
hath notably  
endamaged  
the Crowne.

His licences doe stand thus: first hee got licence  
for certayne great numbers of cloaths, to bee trans-  
ported out of this land, which might have bene an  
undoing to the Marchant subject, if they had not re-  
deemed the same with great summes of money: so  
that it redounded to great damage of all occupied  
about that kind of commodity. After that hee had  
the grant for carrying over of barrell slaves and of  
some other such like wares. Then procured hee a  
Monopolie, for bringing in of sweet wines, oyles, cur-  
rants and the like: the gaine whereof is incalculable.  
Hee had also the forfeit of all wine that was to bee  
drawne above the old ordinary price, with licence  
to give authority to sell above that price: where-  
in Captaine *Horsley* was his instrument, by which  
meanes it is incredible what treasure and yearly  
rent was gathered of the Vintners throughout the  
land.

*Leysellers*  
licences.

To this adde now his licence of silkes and vel-  
vets, which onely were enough to enrich the Major  
and Aldermen of *London*, if they were all decayed

*Silkes and*  
*Velvets.*



The Tyrannicall licence  
of alienation.

(as often I have heard divers Marchants affirme.) And his licence of alienation of lands, which (as in part I have opened before) serveth him not onely to excessive gaine, but also for an extreame scourge, wherewith to plague whom he pleaseth in the Realm. For seeing that without this licence, no man can buy, sell, passe, or alienate, any land that any wayes may be drawne to that tenure, as holden in chiefe of the Prince: (as commonly now most land may) hee calleth into question whatsoever liketh him best, bee it never so cleare: and under this colour, not onely enricheth himselfe without all measure, but revengeth himselfe also, where hee will, without all order.

Lawyer.

Edmund Dudley.

Heare the Lawyer stood still a pretty while, biting his lip, as hee were astonished, and then said, Verily I have not heard so many and so apparant things, of so odious, of any man that ever lived in our Common-wealth. And I marvaile much of my Lord of *Leycester*, that his Grandfathers fortune doth not move him much, who lost his head in the beginning of King *Henry* the eightes dayes, for much lesse and fewer offences, in the same kind, committed in the time of King *Henry* the seventh: for hee was thought to be the inventour of these poolings and molestations, wherewith the people were burthened, in the latter dayes of the said King. And yet had hee great pretence of reason to alledge for himselfe, in that these exactions were made to the Kings use, and not to his, (albeit no doubt) but his owne gaine was also there. Master *Stow* writeth in his Chronicle, that in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, hee wrote a notable booke, intituled *The tree of Common-wealth*, which booke, the said *Stow* saith, that hee hath delivered to my Lord of *Leycester* many yeares agoe.

Edmund Dudley.  
his booke  
written in  
the Tower.

And

And if the said booke bee so notable as Master *Stow* affirmeth: I marvaile, that his Lord in so many yeares, doth not publish the same, for the glory of his ancestors?

It may bee (said the Gentleman) that the secrets therein contained, bee such, as it seemeth good to my Lord, to use them onely himselfe, and to gather the fruit of that tree into his owne house alone. For if the tree of the Common-wealth in *Edmund Dacles* booke, bee the Prince and his race: and the fruits to bee gathered from that tree, bee riches, honours, dignities, and preferments: then no doubt, but as the writer *Edmund* was cunning therein: so have his two followers, *John* and *Robert*, well studied and practized the same, or rather have, exceeded and farre passed the author himselfe. The one of them gathering so eagerly, and with such vehemency, as hee was like to have broken downe the maine boughes for greedinesse: the other yet plucking and heaping so fast to himselfe and his friends, as it is and may bee, most justly doubted, that when they have cropped all they can, from the tree left them by their Father *Edmund* (I meane the race of King *Henry* the seventh:) then will they pluck up the Stemme it selfe by the rootes, as unprofitable: and pitch in his place another Trunko, (that is the line of *Huntington*) that may begin to feed a new, with fresh fruits againe, and so for a time content their appetites, untill of gatherers, they may become trees, (which is their finall purpose) to feed themselves at their owne discretion.

And how soever this bee, it cannot bee denied, but that *Edmund Dacles* brood, have learned by this booke, and by other meanes, to bee more cunning gatherers, then ever their first progenitor was: that made the booke. First for that hee made profession to ge-

Gentleman.

The sup-  
planting of  
the race of  
*Henry* the 7.  
The inser-  
ting of *Hun-*  
*tington*.

*Edmund*  
*Dacles*  
brood more  
cunning than  
himselfe.

Northumber-

land and Ley-  
cester with  
their Prince  
will not bee  
ruled.

Lawyer.

In good faith  
Sir (quoth the  
Lawyer) I thanke  
you heartily,  
for this pleasant  
discourse upon  
Edmund's  
tree of Common-  
wealth.

Gentleman.

Leycester  
Master of art  
and a cunning  
Logitioner.

ther to his Prince (though wickedly) and these men  
make demonstration, that they have gathered for  
themselves: and that with much more iniquity. Se-  
condly, for that *Edmund Dudley* though hee got him-  
selfe neare about the tree, yet was hee content to stand  
on the ground, and to serve himselfe from the tree,  
as commodity was offered: but his children not  
esteeming that safe gathering, will needs mount aloft  
upon the tree, to pull, crophe, and ristle at their plea-  
sure. And as in this second point the Sonne *John  
Dudley* was more subtle, then *Edmund* the Father:  
so in a third point, the Nephew *Robert Dudley* is more  
crafty then they both. For that, hee seeing the evill  
successe of those two that went before him, hee hath  
provided together so much in convenient time, and  
to make himselfe therewith so fat and strong, (where-  
in the other two failed) as hee will never bee in dan-  
ger more, to bee called to any accompt for the  
same. In good faith Sir (quoth the Lawyer) I thanke  
you heartily, for this pleasant discourse upon *Edmund's  
Dudley's* tree of Common-wealth. And by your  
opinion, my Lord of *Leycester* is the most learned of  
all his kindred, and a very cunning Logitioner in-  
deed, that can draw for himselfe so commodious con-  
clusions, out of the perillous premisses of his proge-  
nitors. No marvaile (quoth the Gentleman) for that his  
Lord is Master of Art in *Oxford*, and Chancelour  
besides of the same Vniversity, where hee hath store  
(as you know) of many fine wits and good Logi-  
tioners: at his commandment: and where hee lear-  
neth not onely the rules and art of cunning gather-  
ing: but also the very practize (as I have touched  
before) seeing there is no one Colledge, or other  
thing

thing of commodity within that place, where hence hee hath not pulled, whatsoever was possibly to bee gathered, either by art or violence.

Touching Oxford (said I) for that I am an Un-  
 versity man my selfe, and have both experience of  
 Cambridge, and good acquaintance with divers stu-  
 dents of the other University. I can tell you enough,  
 but in fine all tender to this conclusion, that by his  
 Chancellorship, is cancelled almost all hope of good in  
 that University: and by his protection, it is like to come  
 to some destruction. And surely if there were  
 no other thing, to declare the odds and difference  
 betwixt him, and our Chancellour, (whom hee can-  
 not beare, for that every way hee seeth him to passe  
 him in all honour and vertue) it were sufficient to  
 behold the present state of the two Universities, where-  
 of they are heads and governours.

For our owne, I will not say much, lest I might  
 perhaps seeme partiall: but let the thing speake for it  
 selfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and thereby  
 you may judge of the Gardiners diligence. Look  
 upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of Eng-  
 land, and see whence principally they have received  
 their furniture for advancement of the Gospel. And  
 on the contrary side, look upon the Seminaries of  
 Papistry at Rome and Rhenus, upon the Colledges of  
 Jesuits, and other companies of Papists beyond  
 the seas, and see where-hence they are, especially,  
 fraught.

The Priests and Jesuits here executed within  
 the land, and other that remains either in prison, or  
 abroad in corners: are they not all (in a manner) of  
 that University? I speake not to the disgrace of any  
 good that remaine there, or that have issued out thence  
 into the Lords Vineyard: but for the most part  
 there,

Schollar.

Leycesters  
 abusing and  
 spoiling of  
 Oxford.

The Lord  
 Treasurer.

Cambridge.



there, of this our time, have they not either gone beyond the seas, or left their places for discontentment in Religion, or els become serving men, or followed the bare name of Law or Physick, without profiting greatly therein, or furthering the service of Gods Church or their Common-wealth?

The disorders  
of the  
University  
by the  
wickedness  
of their  
Chancellour.

And where-hence (I pray you) ensueth all this, but by reason that the chiefe Governour thereof is an Atheist himselfe, and useth the place onely for gaine and spoile? for here-hence it commeth, that all good order and discipline is dissolved. In that place, the servour of study extinguished: the publike Lectures abandoned (I meane of the more part:) the Tavernes and Ordinary-tables frequented: the apparell of students growne monstrous: and the statutes and good ordinance, both of the Vniversity and of every Colledge and Hall in private, broken and infringed at my Lords good pleasure, without respect either of oath, custome, or reason to the contrary. The heads and officers are put in and out at his onely discretion: and the Schollars places either sold, or disposed by his letters, or by these of his servants and followers: nothing can bee had there, now, without present mony: it is as common buying and selling of places in that Vniversity, as of horses in *Smithfield*: where-by the good and vertuous are kept out, and companions thrust in, fit to serve his Lord afterward, in all affaires that shall occur.

Leases.

And as for leases of farmes, Woods, Pastures, Perbages, Benefices or the like, which belong any way to any part of the Vniversity, to let or bestow, these, his Lord and his servants have so flected, shorne, and teraped already, that there remaineth, little to feed upon hereafter: albeit he want not still his spies and intelligencers in the place, to advertise him from time

time to time, when any little new morrell is offered. And the Principall instruments, which for this purpose, hee hath had there before this, have bene two *Lycesters* instruments. Physitians *Bayly* and *Culpeper*, both knowne Papists a little while agoe, but now just of Galens religion, and so much the fitter for my Lords humour: for his Lordship doth alwayes cover, to bee furnished with certaine chosen men about him, for divers affaires: as these two Galenists for agents in the Vniversity: *Dee* and *Allen* (two Atheistes) for figuring and conjuring: *Julio* the Italian and *Lepus* the Jew, for poisoning, and for the art of destroying children in Womens bellies: *Vernus* for murdering: *Digbys* for \* *Bawdes*: and the like in other occupations which his Lordship exerciseth.

Wherefore to returne to the speech where wee began: most cleare it is, that my Lord of *Lycester* hath meanes to gaine and gather also by the Vniversity, as well as by the Country abroad. Wherein (as I am told) hee beareth himselfe so absolute a Lord, as if hee were their King, and not their Chancellour: Nay farre more then, if hee were the generall and particular founder of all the Colledges and other houses of the Vniversity: no man daring to contrary or interrupt the least word or signification of his will, but with his extreame danger: which is a proceeding more fit for *Phalaris* the Tyrant, or some Governour in *Tarrey*, then for a Chancellour of a learned Vniversity.

To this answered the Lawyer, for my Lords wrath, towards such as will not stand to his judgement and opinion, I can my selfe bee a sufficient witnesse: who having had often occasion to deale for composition of matters, betwixt his Lordship and others, have scene by experience, that alwayes they have sped best,

\* At Digbys house in Warwick.

Shir Dame Lettice say, and some other such peeces of pleasure.

Lawyer.

The perill of  
standing  
with *Leycester*  
in any thing.

best, who stood lest in contention with him, whatsoever their cause were. For as a great and violent river, the more it is stopped or contraried, the more it riseth and swelleth bigge, and in the end, defecteth with more force the thing that made resistance: so his Lordship being the great and mighty Potentate of this Realme, and accustomed now to have his will in all things, cannot beare to bee crossed or resisted by any man, though it were in his owne necessary defence.

\* Poore men  
resisting.

*Warwicks*  
inclosure at  
North-hall  
were hanged  
for his pleasure by *Leycesters* authority.

*Gentleman.*

Great Tyranny.

Hereof I have seene examples, in the causes of *Snowdon* forrest in *Wales*, of *Denbigh*, of *Killeshin*, of *Drayton* and others: where the parties that had interest, or thought themselves wronged, had beene happy, if they had yeelded at the first to his Lordships pleasure, without further question: for then had they escaped much trouble, charges, displeasure and vexation, which by resistance they incurred, to their great ruine, (and \* losse of life to some) and in the end were faine also to submit themselves unto his will, with farre worse conditions, then in the beginning were offered unto them: which thing was pittifull indeed to behold, but yet such is my Lords disposition.

A noble disposition (quoth the Gentleman,) that I must give him my Coat if hee demand the same, and that quickly also, for feare least if I stagger or make doubt thereof, hee compell mee to yeeld both coat and doublet, in penance of my stay. I have read of some such Tyrants abroad in the World: Marry their end was alwayes according to their life, as it is very like that it will bee also in this man, for that there is small hope of his amendment, and God passeth not over commonly such matters unpunished in this life, as well as in the life to come.

But

But I pray you Sir, seeing mention is now made of the former oppressions, so much talked of throughout the Realme, that you will take the paines, to expaine the substance thereof unto mee: for albeit in generall, every man doth know the same, and in heart doe detest the Tyranny thereof: yet wee abroad in the Countrey, doe not understand it so well and distinctly as you that bee Lawyers, who have seene and understood the whole processe of the same.

The case of *Killingworth* and *Denbigh*, (said the Lawyer) are much alike in matter and manner of proceeding, though different in time place and importance. For that the Lordship of *Denbigh* in North-wales, being given unto him by her Majesty a great while agoe at the beginning of his rising, (which is a Lordship of singular great importance, in that Countrey, having (as I have heard) well neere two hundred worshipfull Gentlemen free-holders to the same:) the tenants of the place considering the present state of things, and having learned, the hungry disposition of their new Lord: made a common purle of a thousand pounds, to present him withall, at his first entrance. Which though hee received (as hee refuseth nothing.) Yet accompted hee the summe of small effect for satisfaction of his appetite: and therefore applied himselfe, not onely to make the uttermost that hee could by leases, and such like wayes of commodity: but also would needs enforce the free-holders, to raise their old rent of the Lordship, from two hundreth and fifty pounds a yeare or there abouts (at which rate hee had received the same in gift from her Majesty,) unto eight or nine hundreth pounds by the yeare. For that hee had found out (forsooth) an old record, (as hee said) whereby hee could prove,

Lawyer.

The Lordship of *Denbigh* and *Leycesters* oppressions used therein.



that in ancient times long past, that Lordship had yielded so much old rent : and therefore hee would now enforce the present tenants, to make up so much againe upon their lands, which they thought was against all reason for them to doe : but my Lord perforce, would have it so, and in the end compelled them, to yeeld to his will, to the impoverishing of all the whole Countrey about.

The manner  
of *Killingworth*  
and  
*Leycesters*  
oppression  
there.

The like proceeding hee used with the tenants about *Killingworth*, where hee receiving the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in giste of twenty foure pounds yearely rent or there about, hath made it now better then five hundreth by yeare : by an old record also, found by great fortune in the hole of a wall as is given out (for hee hath, singular good luck alwayes in finding out records for his purpose) by vertue whereof, hee hath taken from the tenants, round about, their Lands, Woods, Pastures, and Commons, to make him selfe Parkes, Chaces, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family, which was maintained there, before this devourer set foot in that Countrey.

The case of  
*Snowden*  
forest most  
pittisfull.

But the matter of *Snowden* Forest, doth passe all the rest, both for cunning and cruelty : the tragedy whereof was this hee had learned by his intelligencers abroad, (whereof hee hath great store in every part of the Realme) that there was a goodly ancient Forest in *North-wales*, which hath almost infinite borderers about the same : for it lieth in the midst of the Countrey, beginning at the Hills of *Snowden* (whereof it hath his name) in *Carnarvan-shire*, and reacheth every way towards divers other shires. When my Lord heard of this, hee entered presently into the conceit of a singular great pray : and going to her Majesty, signified that her highnesse was  
often

often times abused, by the incroching of such as dwelt upon her Forests, which was necessary to bee restrained: and therefore beseeched her Majesty, to bestow upon him the incroachments onely, which hee should bee able to find out, upon the forest of *Snawden*, which was granted.

And thereupon hee chose out Commissioners fit for the purpose, and sent them into *Wales*, with the like commission, as a certaine Emperour was wont to give his Magistrates, when they departed from him to governe, as *Suetonius* writeth: *Scitis quid velim, & quibus opus habeo*. You know what I would have, and what I have need of. Which recommendation, these Commissioners taking to heart, omitted no diligence in execution of the same: and so going into *Wales*, by such meanes as they used, of setting one man to accuse an other: brought quickly all the Countrey round about in three or foure shires, within the compasse of forest ground: and so entred upon the same, for my Lord of *Leycester*. Whereupon, when the people were amazed, and expected what order my Lord himselfe would take therein: his Lord was so farre off from refusing any part of that, which his Commissioners had presented and offered him: as hee would yet further stretch the Forest beyond the Sea, into the Ile of *Anglesey*, and make that also within his compas and bounder.

Which when the commonalty saw, and that they profited nothing, by their complaining and crying out of this Tyranny: they appointed to send some certaine number of themselves, to *London*, to make supplication to the Prince: and so they did. Choosing out for that purpose a dozen Gentlemen, and many more of the Commons of the Countrey of *Lin.* to deale for the whole. Who comming to *London* and

An old Tyrannicall commission.

A ridiculous demonstration of excessive avarice.

exhibiting a most humble supplication to her Majesty for redresse of their oppression : received an answer, by the procurement of my Lord of *Leycester*, that they should have justice, if the commonalty would returne home to their houses, and the Gentlemen remaine there, to sollicite the cause. Which as soone as they had yeelded unto, the Gentlemen were all taken and cast into prison, and there kept for a great space, and afterward were sent downe to *Ludlow*, (as the place most eminent of all these Countries) there to weare papers of perjury, and receive other punishments of infamy, for their complaining : which punishments notwithstanding, afterward upon great sute of the parties and their friends, were turned into great fines of money, which they were constrained to pay, and yet besides to agree also with my Lord of *Leycester* for their owne lands, acknowledging the same to bee his, and so to buy it of him againe.

A singular  
oppression.

Whereby not onely these private Gentlemen, but all the whole Countrey there about, was and is (in a manner) utterly undone. And the participation of this injury, reacheth so farre and wide, and is so general in these parts : as you shall scarce find a man that commeth from that coast, who feeleth not the smart thereof : being either impoverished, beggered, or ruined thereby.

*Leycester*  
extreamely  
hated in  
*Wales.*

Whereby I assure you, that the hatred of all that Countrey, is so universall and vehement against my Lord : as I thinke never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leycester* is. Which his Lordship well knowing, I doubt not, but that hee will take heed, how hee goe thither to dwell, or send thither his posterity.

*Gentleman.*

For his posterity (quoth the Gentleman) I suppose  
hee

hee hath little cause to bee solicitous: for that God himselfe taketh care commonly, that goods and honours so gotten and maintained, as his bee, shall never trouble the third heire. Marry for himselfe, I confesse (the matter standing as you say) that hee hath reason to forbear that Countrey, and to leave of his building begunne at *Denbigh*, as I heare say hee hath done. For that the uniuersall hatred of a people, is a perillous matter. And if I were in his Lordships case, I should often thinke of the end of *Nero*: who after all his glory, upon fury of the people was adjudged to have his head thrust into a Pillory, and so to bee beaten to death, with rods and thonges.

The end of  
Tyrants.

*Nero*,

Or rather I should feare the successe of *Vitellius*, the third Emperour after *Nero*, who for his wickednesse and oppression of the people, was taken by them at length, when fortune began to faile him, and led out of his palace naked, with hookes of Iron fastened in his flesh, and so drawne through the City with infamy, where, loden in the streets with filth and ordure cast upon him, and a prick put under his Chinne, to the end hee should not looke downe or hide his face, was brought to the banke of *Tyber*, and there after many hundred wounds received, was cast into the River. So implacable a thing is the furour of a multitude, when it is once stirred, and hath place of revenge. And so heavy is the hand of God upon Tyrants in this World, when it pleaseth his diuine Majesty to take revenge of the same.

*Vitellius*,

I have read in *Laander*, in his description of *Italy*, how that in *Spoleto* (if I bee not deceived) the chiefe City of the Countrey of *Vmbria*, there was a strange Tyrant: who in the time of his prosperity, contemned all men, and forbore to injury no man, that came within his clawes: esteeming himselfe sure enough, for

A most terrible  
revenge  
taken upon a  
Tyrant.



ever being called to render accompt in this life, and for the next hee cared little. But God upon the sudden turned upside downe the wheele of his felicity, and cast him into the peoples hands: who tooke him, and bound his naked body upon a planke, in the market place, with a fire and iron tonges by him: and then made proclamation, that seeing this man was not otherwise able to make satisfaction, for the publique injuries that hee had done: every private person annoyed by him, should come in order, and with the hoat burning tonges there ready, should take of his flesh so much, as was correspondent to the injury received, as indeed they did untill the miserable man gave up the ghost, and after to: as this authour writeth.

*Leycesters  
oppression of  
particular  
men.*

But to the purpose: seeing my Lord careth little for such examples, and is become so hardy now, as hee maketh no accompt to injury and oppresse whole Countries and Commonalties together: it shall bee bootles to speake of his proceedings towards particular men, who have not so great strength to resist, as a multitude hath. And yet I can assure you, that there are so many and so pittifull things published dayly of his Tyranny in this kind: as doe move great compassion towards the party that doe suffer, and horrour against him, who shameth not dayly to offer such injury.

*Master Ro-  
binson.*

As for example: whose heart would not bleed to heare the case before mentioned, of Master *Robinson* of *Staffordshire*: a proper yong Gentleman, and well given both in Religion and other vertues. Whose Father died at *Newhaven* in her Majesties service, under this mans brother the Earle of *Warwick*: and recommended at his death, this his eldest Sonne, to the speciall protection of *Leycester* and his Brother, whose servant

servant also this *Robinson* hath bene, from his youth upward, and spent the most of his living in his service. Yet notwithstanding all this, when *Robinsons* lands were intangled with a certaine Londoner, upon interest for his former maintenance in their service, whose title my Lord of *Leycester* (though craftily, yet not covertly) under *Ferris* his cloak, had gotten to himselfe: hee ceased not to pursue the poore Gentleman even to imprisonment, arraignment, and sentence of death, for greedines of the said living: together with the vexation of his brother in law Master *Harcourt* and all other his friends, upon pretence, forsooth, that there was a man slaine by *Robinsons* party, in defence of his owne possession against *Leycesters* intruders, that would by violence breake into the same.

Master *Harcourt*.

What shall I speake of others, whereof there would bee no end? as of his dealing with Master *Richard Lee*, for his Manor of *Hooknorton* (if I faile not in the name:) with Master *Ludowick Grivell*, by seeking to bereave him of all his living at once, if the drift had taken place? with *George Witney*, in the behalfe of Sir *Henry Leigh*, for inforcing him to forgoe the Controulership of *Woodstock*, which hee holdeth by patent from King *Henry* the seventh? With my Lord *Barkley*, whom hee enforced to yeeld up his lands to his brother *Warwick*, which his ancestors had held quietly for almost two hundred years together?

Master *Richard Lee*.

*Ludowick Grivell*.

*George Witney*.

Lord *Barkley*.

What shall I say of his intollerable Tyranny upon the last Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for Doctor *Iulio* his sake; and that in so fowle a matter? Vpon Sir *Iohn Throgmarton*, whom hee brought pittifully to his grave before his time, by continuall vexations, for a peece of faithfull service done by him to his Countrey, and to all

Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Sir *Iohn Throgmarton*.

*Lane.*

*Gifford.*

*Sir Drew  
Drewry.*

*The present  
state of my  
Lord of  
Leycester.*

*Leycesters  
Wealth.*

*Leycesters  
Strength.*

*Leycesters  
Cunning.*

all the line of King *Henry*, against this mans Father, in King *Edward* and Queene *Maries* dayes? Vpon diuers of the *Lanes* for one mans sake of that name before mentioned, that offered to take *Killingworth-Castle*? upon some of the *Giffords*, and other for *Throgmartons* sake? (for that is also his Lords disposition, for one mans cause whom hee brooketh not, to plague a whole generation, that any way pertaineth, or is allied to the same:) his endlesse persecuting of *Sir Drew Drewry*, and many other Courtiers both men and women? All these (I say) and many others, who dayly suffer injuries, rapines and oppressions at his hands, throughout the Realme, what should it auail to name them in this place: seeing neither his Lord careth any thing for the same, neither the parties agrieved are like to attaine any least release of affliction thereby, but rather double oppression for their complaining.

Wherefore, to returne againe whereas wee began, you see by this little, who, and how great, and what manner of man, my Lord of *Leycester* is this day, in the state of *England*. You see and may gather, in some part, by that which hath beene spoken, his wealth, his strength, his cunning, his disposition. His Wealth is excessive in all kind of riches for a private man, and must needs bee much more, then any body lightly can imagine, for the infinite wayes hee hath had of gaine, so many yeares together. His Strength and power is absolute and irresistable, as hath beene showed, both in Chamber, Court, Councell, and Countrey. His Cunning in plotting and fortifying the same, both by Force and Fraud, by Mines and Countermines, by Trenches, Bulwarkes, Flankers, and Rampiers: by Friends, Enemies, Allies, Servants, Creatures, and Dependents, or any other that may serve his

his turne: is very rare and singular. His Disposition  
to Cruelty, Murder, Treason, and Tyranny: and by  
all these to Supream Sovereignty over other: is most  
evident and cleare. And then judge you whe-  
ther her Majesty that now raigneth ( whose life and  
prosperity, the Lord in mercy long preserve, ) have  
not just cause to feare, in respect of these things one-  
ly: if there were no other particulars to prove his aspi-  
ring intent besides?

*Leycesters  
disposition;*

No doubt (quoth the Lawyer) but these are great  
matters, in the question of such a cause as is a Crowne.  
And wee have scene by example, that the least of  
these foure, which you have here named, or rather  
some little branch contained in any of them, hath  
beene sufficient to found just suspicion, distrust or jea-  
lousie, in the heads of most wise Princes, towards  
the proceedings of more assured subjects, then my  
Lord of *Leycester*, in reason may bee presumed to  
bee. For that the safety of a state and Prince, stan-  
deth not onely in the readines and hability of resi-  
sting open attempts, when they shall fall out: but also  
(and that much more as Statistes write) in a certaine  
provident watchfulnesse, of preventing all possibili-  
ties and likelihoods of danger of surpression: for  
that no Prince commonly, will put himselfe to the  
courtesie of an other man) bee hee never so obliged)  
whether hee shall retaine his Crowne or no: see-  
ing the cause of a Kingdome, acknowledgeth  
neither kindred, duty, faith, friendship, nor socie-  
ty.

*Lawyer*

*Causes of  
just feare  
for her Ma-  
jesty.*

I know not whether I doe expound or declare  
my selfe well or no, but my meaning is, that whereas,  
every Prince hath two points of assurance from his  
subject, the one, in that hee is faithfull and lacketh  
will, to annoie his sovereign: the other, for that hee

*is bound*

*M*

*is*



A point of is weake and wanteth ability, to doe the same : the  
 necessary po- first is alwayes of more importance then the second,  
 licy for a and consequently more to bee eyed and observed in  
 Prince, policy : for that our will may bee changed at our plea-  
 sure, but not our ability.

Considering then, upon that which hath beene  
 said and specified before, how that my Lord of *Ley-*  
*cester*, hath possessed himselfe of all the strength,  
 powers and sinewes of the Realme, hath drawne all  
 to his owne direction, and hath made his party so  
 strong as it seemeth not resistable: you have great rea-  
 son to say, that her Majesty may justly conceive some  
 doubt, for that if his will were according to his  
 power, most assured it is, that her Majesty were not in  
 safety.

Schollar,

Say not so, good Sir, (quoth I) for in such a case  
 truly, I would repose little upon his will, which is  
 so many wayes apparant, to bee most insatiable of  
 ambition. Rather would I thinke that as yet his  
 ability serveth not, either for time, place, force, or  
 some other circumstance: then that any part of good  
 will should want in him: seeing that not onely his  
 desire of soveraignty, but also his intent and attempt  
 to aspire to the same, is sufficiently declared (in my  
 conceit) by the very particulars of his power and  
 plots already set downe. Which, if you please to  
 have the patience, to heare a Schollars argument, I  
 will prove by a Principle of our Philosophy.

A philosoe-  
 phicall argu-  
 ment to  
 prove *Ley-*  
*cesters* intent  
 of soveraign-  
 ty.

For if it bee true which *Aristotle* sayeth, there is  
 no agent so simple in the World, which worketh not  
 for some finall end, (as the bird buildeth not her nest  
 but to dwell and hatch her yong ones therein:) and  
 not onely this, but also that the same agent, doth al-  
 wayes frame his worke according to the proportion  
 of his intended end: (as when the Fox or Badger  
 maketh

maketh a wide earth or denne, it is a signe that hee meaneth to draw thither great store of pray:) then must wee also in reason thinke, that so wise and politick an agent, as is my Lord of *Leycester* for himselfe, wanteth not his end in these plottings and preparations of his: I meane an end proportionable in greatnesse to his preparations. Which end, can bee no lesse nor meaner then Supream Sovereignty, seeing his provision and furniture doe tend that way, and are in every point fully correspondent to the same.

What meaneth his so diligent besieging of the Princes person? his taking up the wayes and passages about her? his insolency in Court? his singularity in the Councell? his violent preparation of strength abroad? his enriching of his Complices? the banding of his faction, with the abundance of friends every where? what doe these things signifie (I say) and so many other, as you have well noted and mentioned before: but onely his intent and purpose of Supremacy? What did the same things portend in times past in his Father, but even that which now they portend in the Sonne? Or how should wee thinke, that the Sonne hath an other meaning in the very same actions, then had his Father before him, whose steps hee followeth.

I remember I have heard, often times of divers ancient and grave men in *Cambridge*, how that in King *Edwards* dayes the Duke of *Northumberland* this mans Father, was generally suspected of all men, to meane indeed as afterward hee shewed; especially when hee had once joyned with the house of *Suffolke*, and made himselfe a principall of that faction by marriage. But yet for that hee was potent, and protested every where, and by all occasions his great love, duty, and speciall care, above all others, that hee bare to-

M a

wards

The preparations of *Leycester* declare his intended end.

How the Duke of *Northumberland* dissembled his end,

wards his Prince and Countrey: no man durst accuse him openly, untill it was to late to withstand his power: (as commonly it falleth out in such affaires) and the like is evident in my Lord of *Leycesters* actions now (albeit to her Majesty; I doubt not, but that hee will pretend and protest, as his Father did to her Brother,) especially now after his open association with the faction of *Huntington*: which no lesse impugneeth under this mans protection, the whole line of *Henry* the seventh for right of the Crowne, then the House of *Suffolke* did under his Father the particular progeny of King *Henry* the eight.

*Gentleman.*

The boldnes  
of the titlers  
of Clarence.

Nay rather much more (quoth the Gentleman) for that I doe not read in King *Edwards* raigne, (when the matter was in plotting notwithstanding) that the House of *Suffolke* durst ever make open claime to the next succession. But now the House of *Hastings* is become so confident, upon the strength and favour of their fautors, as they dare both plot, practise and pretend, all at once, and feare not to set out their title, in every place, where as they come.

*Lawyer.*

And doe they not feare the statute (said the Lawyer) so rigorous in this point, as it maketh the matter treason to determine of titles?

*Gentleman.*

The abuse of  
the statute  
for silence in  
the true suc-  
cession.

No, they need not (quoth the Gentleman) seeing their party is so strong, and terrible, as no man dare accuse them: seeing also they well know, that the procurement of that statute, was onely to endanger or stop the mouths of the true Successours, whiles themselves, in the meane space, went about under-hand, to establish their owne ambushment.

*Lawyer.*

Well, (quoth the Lawyer) for the pretence of my Lord of *Huntington* to the Crowne, I will not stand with you, for that it is a matter sufficiently knowne and seene throughout the Realme. As also that my  
Lord

Lord of *Leycester* is at this day, a principall favourer and patron of that cause, albeit some yeares past, hee were an earnest adversary and enemy to the same. But yet I have heard some friends of his, in reasoning of these matters, deny stoutly a point or two, which you have touched here, and doe seeme to believe the same.

And that is, first, that howsoever my Lord of *Leycester* doe meane to helpe his friend, when time shall serve, yet pretendeth hee nothing to the Crowne himselfe. The second is, that whatsoever may beement for the title, or compassing the Crowne after her Majesties death, yet nothing is intended during her raigne. And of both these points they alledge reasons.

Two excuses  
alleged by  
*Leycesters*  
friends.

As for the first, that my Lord of *Leycester* is very well-knowne, to have no title to the Crowne himselfe, either by discent in blood, alliance or otherwayes. For the second, that his Lord hath no cause to bee a Male-content in the present government, nor hope for more preferment, if my Lord of *Huntington* were King to-morrow next, then hee receiveth now at her Majesties hands: having all the Realme (as hath beene shewed) at his owne disposition.

For the first (quoth the Gentleman) whether hee meane the Crowne for himselfe, or for his friend, it importeth not much: seeing both wayes it is evident, that hee meaneth to have all at his owne disposition. And albeit now for the avoiding of envy, hee give it out, as a crafty Fox, that hee meaneth not but to runne with other men, and to hunt with *Huntington* and other hounds in the same chase: yet is it not unlike, but that hee will play the Beare, when hee commeth to deviding of the pray, and will snatch the best part to himselfe. Yea and these selfe same persons.

Gentleman.

Whether  
*Leycester*  
meane the  
Crowne sincerely  
for  
*Huntington*  
or for him-  
selfe.



sons of his traine and faction, whom you call his friends, though in publique, to excuse his doings, and to cover the whole plot, they will and must deny the matters to be so meant: yet otherwise they both thinke, hope and know the contrary, and will not stick in secret to speake it, and among themselves, it is their talke of consolation.

The words  
of the Lord  
North, to Ma-  
ster Pooley.

Pooley told  
this to Sir  
Robert Ter-  
mine.

The words  
of Sir Tho-  
mas Layton  
brother in  
law to my  
Lord.

The words of his speciall Councillour the Lord North, are knowne, which hee uttered to his trusty Pooley, upon the receipt of a letter from Court, of her Majesties displeasure towards him, for his being a witness at *Leycesters* second marriage with Dame *Lettrice* (although I know hee was not ignorant of the first) at *Wanstead*: of which displeasure, this Lord making far lesse accompt then, in reason hee should, of the just offence of his soveraigne, said: that for his owne part hee was resolved to linke or swimme with my Lord of *Leycester*: who (saith hee) if once the Cards may come to shuffling (I will use but his very owne words) I make no doubt but hee alone shall beare away the Bucklers.

The words also of Sir *Thomas Layton*, to Sir *Henry Nevile*, walking upon the *Tarresse* at *Windsor* are knowne, who told him, after long discourse of their happy conceived Kingdome, that hee doubted not, but to see him one day, hold the same office in *Windsor*, of my Lord of *Leycester*, which now my Lord did hold of the Queene. Meaning thereby the goodly office of Constableship, with all Royalties and honours belonging to the same, which now the said Sir *Henry* exerciseth onely as Deputy to the Earle. Which was plainly to signifie, that, hee doubted not but to see my Lord of *Leycester* one day King, or els his other hope could never possibly take effect or come to passe.

To

To the same point, tended the words of Mistrisse Anne West Dame Lettice Sister, unto the Lady Anne Askew in the great Chamber, upon a day when her Brother Robert Knewler had danced disgraciously and scornfully before the Queene in presence of the French. Which thing for that her Majesty took to proceed of will in him, as for dislike of the strangers in presence, and for the quarrell of his Sister Essex: it pleased her highnesse to check him for the same, with addition of a reproachfull word or two (full well deserved) as though done for dispite of the forced absence, from that place of honour, of the good old Gentlewoman (I mitigate the words) his Sister. Which words, the other yonger twigge receiving in deepe dudge, brake forth in great choler to her fore-named companion, and said, that shee nothing doubted, but that one day shee should see her Sister, upon whom the Queene railed now so much (for so it pleased her to tearme her Majesties sharp speech) to sit in her place and throne, being much worthier of the same, for her qualities and rare vertues, then was the other. Which undutifull speech, albeit, it were over heard and condemned of divers that sat about them: yet none durst ever report the same to her Majesty; as I have heard sundry Courtiers affirme, in respect of the revenge which the reporters should abide at my Lord of Leycesters hands, when so ever the matter should come to light.

And this is now concerning the opinion and secret speeches of my Lords owne friends, who cannot but utter their conceipt and judgement in time and place convenient, whatsoever they are willed to give out publicly to the contrary, for deceiving of such as will believe faire painted words against

The words  
of Mistrisse  
Anne West  
sister unto  
this holy  
Countesse

The words  
of Mistrisse  
Anne West  
sister unto  
this holy  
Countesse



against evident and manifest demonstration of reason.

Three arguments of *Leycesters* meaning for himselfe before *Huntington*.

I say reason, for that if none of these signes and tokens were, none of these preparations nor any of these speeches and detections, by his friends that know his heart: yet in force of plaine reason, I could alleadge unto you three arguments onely, which to any man of intelligence, would easily perswade and give satisfaction, that my Lord of *Leycester* meaneth best and first for himselfe in this sute. Which three arguments, for that you seeme to bee attent. I will not stick to runne over in all brevity.

The first argument the Nature of ambition.

And the first, is the very nature and quality of ambition it selfe, which is such, (as you know) that it never stayeth, but passeth from degree to degree, and the more it obtaineth, the more it covereth, and the more esteemeth it selfe, both worthy and able to obtaine. And in our matter that now wee handle, even as in wooing, hee that sueth to a Lady for an other, and obtaineth her good will, entereth easily into conceipt of his owne worthines thereby, and so commonly into hope of speeding himselfe, while hee speaketh for his friend: so much more in Kingdomes: hee that seeth himselfe of power to put the Crowne of an other mans head, will quickly step to the next degree which is, to set it of his owne, seeing that alwayes the charity of such good men, is wont to bee so orderly, as (according to the precept) it beginneth with it selfe first.

Add to this, that ambition is jealous, suspitious, and fearefull of it selfe, especially when it is joyned with a conscience loaden with the guilt of many crimes, whereof hee would bee loth to bee called to accompt, or bee subject to any man that might by authority take review of his life and actions, when it should

should please him. In which kind, seeing my Lord of *Leycester* hath so much to encrease his feare, as before hath bene shewed by his wicked dealings: it is not like, that ever hee will put himselfe to an other mans courtship, for passing his aniekt in particular reckonings, which hee can no way answer or satish; but rather will stand upon the grosse summe, and generall *Quintessence*, by making himselfe chiefe Auditor and Master of all accounts for his owne part in this life; howsoever hee doe in the next: whereof such humours have little regard. And this is for the nature of ambition in it selfe.

The second argument may be taken from my Lords particular disposition: which is such, as may give much light also to the matter in question: being a disposition so well liking and inclined to a Kingdome, as it hath bene tampering about the same, from the first day that hee came in favour. First by seeking openly to marry with the Queens Majesty herselfe, and so to draw the Crowne upon his owne head, and to his posterity. Secondly, when that attempt tooke not place, then hee gave it out, as hath bene shewed before, how that hee was privily contracted to her Majesty (wherein as I told you his dealing before for satisfaction of a stranger, so let him with shame and dishonour remember now also, the spectacle hee secretly made for the perswading of a subject and Councellor of great honour in the same cause) to the end that if her highnesse should by any way have miscarried, then hee might have entituled anyone of his owne brood (whereof hee hath store in many places as is knowne) to the lawfull succession of the Crowne, under colour of that privy and secret marriage, pretending the same to hee by her Majesty: wherein hee will want no witnesses to depose what hee

The second  
argument.  
*Leycesters*  
particular  
disposition.

*Leycesters*  
disposition to  
tamper for a  
Kingdome.

I meane the  
noble old  
Barle of  
*Pembroke*.



The undi-  
full devise of  
Naturall  
issue, in the  
statute of  
succession.

Thirdly, when hee saw also that this devise  
was subject to danger; for that his privy counsell  
might be denied, more easily, then hee able justly to  
prove the same; after her Majesties discomfit; hee had a  
new fetch to strengthen the matter and that was to  
cause these words of (*Naturall issue*) to bee put into  
the statute of succession for the Crowne, against all  
order and custome of our Realme, and against the  
knowne common stile of many accustomed to bee  
used in statutes of such matters whereby hee might bee  
able after the death of her Majesty to make legitimate  
to the Crowne, any one bastard of his owne by any  
of so many hackneys who keepe up, affirming it to bee  
the *Naturall issue* of her Majesty by himselfe. For  
no other reason can bee imagined why the ancient  
usual words of, *Lawfull issue* should so cunningly  
bee changed into *Naturall issue*; Thereby not onely  
to endanger our whole Realme with new quarrels  
of succession but also to soule (as far as in him lieth)  
the Royall honour of his Sovereign; who hath bene  
to him but so beautiful a Princess.  
Fourthly, when after a time these fetches and de-  
vices, began to bee discovered, hee changed straight  
his course, and turned to the Papists and Scottish fa-  
ction, pretending the marriage of the Queene in pri-  
son. But yet after this againe, finding therein not  
such success as contented him thoroughly, and having  
in the meane space a new occasion offered of haire:  
hee betooke himselfe fully to the party of *Hun-  
ton*: having therein (and doubt) as good meaning to  
himselfe, as his Father had by joyning with *Suffolke*.  
Marry yet of late, hee hath cast a new about, once a-  
gaine, for himselfe in secret, by treating the marriage  
of yong *Arbella*, with his Sonne, intended the Lord  
*Dunbar*.

The mari-  
age of *Ar-  
bella*.

So that by this wee see the disposition of this man bent wholly to a scepter. And albeit in right, side and descent of blood (as you say) hee can justly claime neither Kingdome nor Cotage (considering either the basenesse or disloyalty of his Ancestours) it is in respect of his present state and power, and of his naturall pride, ambition, and crafty conveyances received from his Father: hee hath learned how to put himselfe first in possession of chiefe rule, under other pretences, and after to devile upon the title at his leisure.

But now to come to the third argument: I say more and above all this, that the nature and state of the matter it selfe, permitte not, that my Lord of Lyncester should meanly receive the Crowne, for *Henric* especially seeing there hath passed betwene them so many yeares of dislike and enmity: which, albeit, for the time and present commodity, be removed and pressed downe by reason and experience wee know, that after ward when they shall deale together againe in matters of importance, and when jealousie shall be joyned to other circumstances of their actions: it is impossible that the former dislike should not breake out in a more higher degree, then ever before.

As wee saw in the examples of the reconciliation, made betwixt this mans Father and *Edward* Duke of *Gloucester*, bearing rule under King *Richard* the first: and betwixt *John* Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, bearing rule in the time of King *Henry* the first, both which Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Burgundy* were reconciled with their old, crafty and malicious enemies, were brought by the same to their destruction. Some will take good heed, in joyning by reconciliation

The third argument: The nature of the cause it selfe.

The nature of old reconciled enmity.

with *Huntington*, after so long a breach: and will not bee so improvident, as to make him his sovereigne, who now is but his dependant. Hee remembreth too well the successe of the Lord *Stanley* who helped King *Henry* the seventh to the Crowne: of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who did the same for *Richard* the third, of the Earle of *Warwick*, who set up King *Edward* the fourth and of the three *Peers*, who advanced to the Scepter King *Henry* the fourth. All which Noble men upon occasions that after fell out: were rewarded with death, by the selfe same Princes, whom they had preferred.

The reason  
of *Mathewell*.

And that not without reason as Siegnior *Mathewell* my Lords Councillour affirmeth. For that such Princes, afterward can never give sufficient satisfaction to such friends, for so great a benefit received. And consequently, least upon discontentment, they may chance doe as much for others against them, as they have done for them against others: the surest way is, to recompence them, with such a reward, as they shall never after bee able to complaine of.

The meaning of the  
Duke of  
*Northumber-*  
land with  
*Suffolke*.

Wherefore I can never thinke that my Lord of *Leicester* will put himselfe in danger of the like successe at *Huntingtons* hands: but rather will follow the plot of his owne Father, with the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom no doubt, but hee meant onely to use for a pretext and helpe, whereby to place himselfe in supreme dignity, and afterward whatsoever had befallen of the state, the others head could never have come to other end, then it enjoyed. For if Queene *Mary* had not cut it off, King *John* of *Northumberland*, would have done the same in time, and so all men doe well know, that were privy to any of his choyse dealings.

And

And what *Huntington*'s secret opinion of *Leycester* is (notwithstanding this outward shew of dependence) it was my chance to learne, from the mouth of a speciall man of that happy King, who was his Ledger or Agent in *London*; and at a time falling in talke of his Masters title, declared, that hee had heard him divers times in secret, complaine to his Lady, (*Leycesters* Sister) as greatly feareing that in the end, hee would offer him wrong, and pretend some title for himselfe.

Well (quoth the Lawyer) it seemeth by this last point, that these two Lords, are cunning practis-ners in the art of dissimulation: but for the former, whereof you speake, in truth, I have heard men of good discourse affirme, that the Duke of *Northumberland* had strange devises in his head, for deceiving of *Sus-folke* (who was nothing so fine as himselfe,) and for bringing the Crowne to his owne family. And among other devises it is thought, that hee had most certaine intention to marry the Lady *Mary* himselfe, (after once hee had brought her into his owne hands) and to have bestowed her Majesty that now is upon some one of his children (if it should have bene thought best to give her life,) and so consequently to have shaken off *Sus-folke* and his pedigree, with con-digne punishment, for his bold behaviour in that be-halte.

Verily (quoth I) this had bene an excellent Stra-tageme, if it had taken place. But I pray you (Sir) how could himselfe have taken the Lady *Mary* to wife, seeing hee was at that time married to another?

Oh (quoth the Gentleman) you question like a Scholler. As though my Lord of *Leycester* had not a wife alive, when hee first began to pretend mar-riage.

Lawyer.

The mar-  
ning of the  
D. of *North-  
umberland*  
towards the  
D. of *Sus-folke*.

Scholar.

Gentleman.



The practise  
of King Ric-  
shard for  
dispatching  
his Wife.

A new  
Tumult  
betweene  
Loyce, and  
Talbot, and  
the Coun-  
telle of  
Shrewsbury.

Lawyer.

Harrington.

rage to the Queenes Majesty. Doe not you remem-  
ber the story of King *Richard* the third, who at such  
time as hee thought best for the establishing of his  
title: to marry his owne Niece, that afterward was  
married to King *Henry* the seventh, how hee caused  
secretly to bee given abroad that his owne wife was  
dead, whom all the World knew to bee then alive  
and in good health, but yet soone afterward shee was  
seene dead indeed. These great personages, in matters  
of such weight, as is a Kingdome, have priviledges to  
dispose of Womens bodies, marriages, lives and  
deaths, as shall bee thought for the time most conve-  
nient.

And what doe you thinke (I pray you) of this new  
business so lately concluded about *Princess* (for so  
I must call the same, though one of the three persons  
bee no *Princess*, but, *Virago*;) I meane of the marriage be-  
tweene yong *Denbigh* and the little Daughter of *Lo-  
don*, whereby the Father-in-law, the Grandmother and  
the Uncle of the new designed Queene, have contri-  
ved to themselves a singular triumphant tagme. But  
what doe you thinke may ensue hereof? is there no-  
thing of the old plot of Duke *Tolme* of *Northumberland*  
in this?

Merry Sir, (saith the Lawyer) if this bee so I  
dare assure you there is requell enough pretended here-  
by. And first no doubt, but there goeth a deepe stir,  
by the wife and sonne, against *Old* (the  
husband and father) with the well liked *large* (the  
And secondly, a stirre deeper by *the* (the  
husband and father) but deeper of all against whole  
Crew, against the designements of the hasty *hasty*  
and secretly (the were plain dealing) to the  
that good people as quick and shortly.

But

But either part, in truth, looketh to deceive other:  
and therefore it is hard to say, where the game in  
fine will rest.

Well howsoever that bee (quoth the Gentleman)  
I am of opinion, that my Lord of *Leycester*, will use  
both this practize and many more, for bringing the  
Scepter finally to his owne head: and that bee will not  
only imploy *Huntington* to defeat *Scotland*, and  
*Arbella* to defeat *Huntington*: but also would use the  
marriage of the Queene imprisoned, to defeat them  
both, if shee were in his hand: and any one of all three  
to dispossesse her Majesty that now is: as also the au-  
thority, of all foure to bring it to himselfe: with many  
other forces, flinges and muscocs besides, which simple  
men as yet doe not conceive.

And howsoever these two conjoynd Earles, doe  
seeme for the time to draw together, and to play booy-  
ty: yet am I, of opinion, that the one will beguile,  
the other at the upshot. And *Hastings*, for ought I  
see, when hee commeth to the scambling, is like to  
have no better luck by the Beare, then his Ancestour  
had once by the Boar: Who using his helpe first in  
murdering the Sonne and Heire of King *Henry* the  
first, and after in destroying the faithful Friends and  
Kinsmen of King *Edward* the first, for his rather way  
to usurpation: made an end of himselfe in the Tower,  
at the very same day and houre, that the other were  
by his counsell destroyed in *Plains*. So that  
where the Coale and pice of the game is, a King-  
dome where is neither faith, neither good fellowship,  
nor faire play among the Gamesters. And this shall  
bee enough for the first point: (viz.) what good my  
Lord of *Leycester* meaneth to himselfe in respect of  
*Huntington*, touching the second, whether the attempt bee  
Touching the second, whether the attempt bee

*Gentleman*

The sleights  
of *Leycester*  
for bringing  
all to him-  
selfe.

Scambling  
betweene  
*Leycester* and  
*Huntington*  
the champions.

Richard of  
*Glocester* and  
1. Edw. 5.

guide A  
of ydrow  
the m. b. m. d.  
the m. b. m. d.

2. That the  
conspirators  
meane in her  
Majesties  
dayes,

purposed in her Majesties dayes or no, the matter is much lesse doubtfull, to him that knoweth or can imagine, what a torment the delay of a Kingdome is, to such a one as suffereth hunger thereof, and searcheth that every houre may breed some alteration, to the prejudice of his conceived hope. Wee see often times that the child is impatient in this matter, to expect the naturall end of his parents life. Whom, notwithstanding, by nature hee is enforced to love, and who also by nature, is like long to leave this World before him: and after whose discease, hee is assured to obtaine his desire: but most certaine of dangerous event, if hee attempt to get it, while yet his parent liveth. Which foure considerations, are (no doubt) of great force to containe a child in duty, and bridle his desire: albeit sometimes not sufficient to withstand the greedy appetite of raigning.

Four considerations.

But what shall wee thinke, where none of these foure considerations doe restrain where the present Possessor is no parent? where hee is like by nature, to out-live the expector? whose death must needs bring infinite difficulties to the enterprise? and in whose life time, the matter is most easie to bee achieved, under colour and authority of the present Possessor? Shall wee thinke that in such a case the ambitious man, will overrule his owne passion, and keele his commodity.

A thing  
worthy to be  
noted in am-  
bitious men.

As for that, which is alleaged before, for my Lord in the reason of his Defenders: that his present state is so prosperous, as hee cannot expect better in the next change whatsoever should bee: is of small moment, in the conceipt of an ambitious head, whose eye and heart is alwayes upon that, which hee hopeth for, and enjoyeth not: and not upon that which already hee possesseth, bee it never so good. Especially

in

In matters of honour and authority, it is an infallible rule, that one degree desired and not obtained, afflicteth more, then five degrees already possessed, can give consolation: the story of Duke *Haman*, confirmeth this evidently, who being the greatest subject in the World under King *Ahasuerus*, after hee had reckoned up all his pompe, riches, glory and felicity to his friends, yet hee sayed, that all this was nothing unto him, untill hee could obtaine the revenge, which hee desired, upon *Mardocheus* his enemy: and hereby it commeth ordinarily to passe, that among highest in authority, are found the greatest store of Mal-contents, that most doe endanger their Prince and Countrey.

Histor. 2

When the *Perceys* tooke part with *Henry of Bolingbroke*, against King *Richard* the second their lawfull soveraigne: it was not for lack of preferment: for they were exceedingly advanced by the said King, and possessed the three Earldomes of *Northumberland*, *Warcester*, and *Stafford* together, besides many other offices and dignities of honour.

The Perceys.

In like sort, when the two *Neviles*, tooke upon them, to joyne with *Richard* of *York*, to put downe their most benigne Prince King *Henry* the sixth: and after againe in the other side, to put downe King *Edward* the fourth: it was not upon want of advancement: they being Earles both of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Lords of many notable places besides. But it was upon a vaine imagination of future fortune, whereby such men are commonly led: and yet had not they any smell in their nostrils, of getting the Kingdome for themselves, as this man hath to prick him forward.

The two Neviles.

If you say that these men hated their soveraigne, and that thereby they were led to procure his destruction: the same I may answer of any Lord living, though

Lecesters hated to her Majesty.



The evill nature of ingratitude,

though of all men hee hath least cause so to doe. But yet such is the nature of wicked ingratitude, that where it oweth most, and disclaime to bee bound: there upon every little discontentment, it turneth double obligation into triple hatred.

Leycesters speeches of her Majesty in the time of his disgrace.

This hee shewed evidently in the time of his little disgrace, wherein hee not onely did diminish, vilipend, and debasise among his friends, the inestimable benefites hee hath received from her Majesty, but also used to exprobate his owne good services and merits, and to touch her highnesse with ingrate consideration and recompence of the same, which behaviour together with his hasty preparation to rebellion, and assault of her Majesties Royall person and dignity, upon so small a cause given: did well shew what mind inwardly hee beareth to his soveraigne, and what her Majesty may expect, if by offending him, shee should once fall within the compasse of his furious pawes: seeing such a smoke of disdain could not proceed, but from a fire furnace of hatred within.

The causes of hatred in Leycester towards her Majesty.

And surely it is a wonderfull matter to consider what a little check, or rather the bare imagination of a small overthrow, may worke in a proud and disdainfull stomack. The remembrance of his marriage misdeed, that hee so much pretended and desired with her Majesty doth stick deeply in his breast and irriteth him dayly to revenge. As also doth the dishonour of certaine checks and disgraces received at sometimes, especially that of his last marriage: which irketh him so much the more, by how much greater feare and danger it brought him into, at that time, and did put his Widow in such open phrensie, as shee ragged many months after against her Majesty, and is not cold yet: but remaineth as it were a sworn enemy,

enemy, for that injury, and standeth like a friend or  
 fury at the elbow of her *Amable*, to stirre him for-  
 ward when occasion shall serue. And what effect  
 such female suggestions may worke, when they  
 find an humour proud and pliable to their purposes,  
 you may remember by the example of the Duchesse of  
*Somerset*, who inforced her Husband to cut off the head,  
 of his onely deare Brother, to his owne euident de-  
 struction for her contentation.

The force of  
 female sug-  
 gestions.

Wherefore, to conclude this matter without fur-  
 ther dispute or reason: saying there is so much disco-  
 uered in the case as there is: so great desire of raigne,  
 so great impatience of delay, so great hope and habi-  
 lity of successe, if it bee attempted, under the good  
 fortune and present authority of the competitors;  
 seeing the platts bee so well laid, the preparation so  
 forward, the favorers so furnished, the time so pro-  
 pitious, and so many other causes conuincing together:  
 seeing that by differring, all may bee hazarded, and by  
 hastening, little can bee endangered, the state and con-  
 dition of things well weyed: finding also the bands  
 of duty so broken already in the conspirators, the  
 causes of dislike and hatred so manifest, and the soli-  
 citours to execution, so potent and diligent, as wo-  
 men, malice, and ambition, are want to bee: it is  
 more then probable, that they will not lesse their pre-  
 sent commodity, especially seeing they have learned  
 by their Archi-type or Proto-plot which they fol-  
 low (I meane the conspiracy of *Northumberland* and  
*Suffolke* in King *Edwards* dayes) that herein there  
 was some error committed at that time, which over-  
 threw the whole, and that was, the differring of some  
 things untill after the Kings death, which should have  
 bene put in execution before.

An euident  
 conclusion  
 that the exe-  
 cution is  
 meane while  
 of her Maje-  
 sty.

An error of  
 the Father  
 now to bee  
 corrected by  
 the Sonne.

For if in the time of their plotting, when as yet  
 their

their designements were not published to the World, they had under the countenance of the King (as well they might have done) gotten into their hands the two Sisters, and dispatched some other few affaires, before they had caused the yong Prince to die: no doubt, but in mans reason the whole designement had taken place: and consequently it is to bee presupposed, that these men (being no fooles in their owne affaires) will take heed of falling into the like error by delay: but rather will make all sure, by striking while the iron is hot, as our proverbe warneth them.

*Lawyer.*

It cannot bee denied in reason (quoth the Lawyer) but that they have many helpes of doing what they list now, under the present a favour, countenance and authority of her Majesty, which they should not have after her highnesse discease: when each man shall remaine more at liberty for his supreme obedience, by reason of the statute provided for uncertainty of the next successor: and therefore I for my part, would rather counsell them, to make much of her Majesties life: for after that, they little know what may ensue, or befall their designements.

*Gentleman.*

They will make the most thereof (quoth the Gentleman) for their owne advantage, but after that, what is like to follow, the examples of *Edward* and *Richard* the second, as also of *Henry* and *Edward* the sixth, doe sufficiently fore-warne us: whose lives were prolonged, untill their deaths were thought more profitable to the conspiratours, and not longer. And for the statute you speake of, procured by themselves, for establishing the incertainty of the next true successor (whereas all our former statutes were wont to bee made for the declaration and certainty of the same) it is with *Proviso*, (as you know) that it shall not endure

Her Majesties life and death, to serve the conspiratours turne,

dure longer, then the life of her Majestie: this now  
 raigbeth: that is, indeed, no longer then untill them-  
 selves bee ready to place an other: For then, no doubt, A proclama-  
 tion with  
 halcers.  
 but wee shall see a faise proclamation, that my Lord  
 of *Huntington* is the onely next heire: with a bundle  
 of halcers to hang all such; as shall dare once open  
 their mouth for deniall of the same.

At these words the old Lawyer stepped back, as Lawyer.  
 some what astonied, and began to make Crosses in Papisticall  
 blessing.  
 the ayre, after their fashion, whereas wee laughed;  
 and then hee said: truly my Masters: I had thought  
 that no man had conceived so evill imagination of  
 this statute, as my selfe: but now I perceive that I alone  
 am not malicious. For my owne part, I must con-  
 fesse unto you, that as often as I read over this statute,  
 or thinke of the same (as by divers occasions many  
 times I doe) I feele my selfe much grieved and af-  
 flicted in mind, upon feares which I conceive what  
 may bee the end of this statute to our Countrey,  
 and what privy meaning, the chiefe promoters there-  
 of might have for their owne drifts; against the  
 Realme and life of her Majestie that now raig-  
 neth.

And so much more it maketh mee to doubt, for  
 that in all our records of law, you shall not find (to  
 my remembrance) any one example of such a devise  
 for concealing of the true inheritance: but rather in  
 all ages, states, and times (especially from *Richard* the  
 first downeward) you shall find statutes, ordinances,  
 and provisions, for declaration and manifestation  
 of the same, as you have well observed and touched  
 before. And therefore this strange and new law  
 vife, must needs have some strange and unconfor-  
 med meaning: and God of his mercy grant, that it  
 have not some strange and unchristian event.

*Richard* go-  
 ing towards  
*Hierusalem*  
 began the  
 custome by  
 Parliament,  
 as *Polidore*  
 noteth *Anno*  
 10. of *Richard*  
 the second to  
 declare the  
 next heire.



The danger  
of our Coun-  
trei by con-  
cealing the  
next heire.

In sight of all men, this is already evident, that ne-  
ver Countrey in the World, was brought into more  
apparent danger of utter ruine, then ours is at this day,  
by pretence of this statute. For where as there is  
no Gentleman so means in the Realme, that cannot  
give a gessie more or lesse, who shall bee his next heire,  
and his tenants soone conjecture, what manner of  
person shall bee their next Lord : in the title of our no-  
ble Crowne, whereof all the rest dependeth; neither  
is her Majesty permitted to know or say, who shall  
bee her next successor, nor her subjects allowed to  
understand or imagine, who in right may bee their  
future soveraigne : An intollerable injury in a matter  
of so singular importance.

Great incon-  
veniences.

For (alas) what should become of this our native  
Countrey, if God should take from us her most excel-  
lent Majesty (as once hee will) and so leave us de-  
stitute upon the sudden what should become of our  
lives, of our states, and of our whole Realme or govern-  
ment? can any man promise himselfe, one day longer  
of rest, peace; possession, life or liberty within the  
land; then God shall lend us her Majesty to raigne o-  
ver us? Which albeit, wee doe and are bound to wish  
that it may bee long : yet reason telleth us, that by  
course of Nature, it cannot bee of any great conti-  
nuance, and by a thousand accidents it may bee much  
shorter. And shall then our most noble Common-  
wealth and Kingdome, which is of perpetuity, and  
must continue to our selves and our posterity, hang  
only upon the life of her highnesse alone, well stricken  
in yeares, and of no great good health or robustious  
and strong complexion. And within hearing some six or seven yeares agoe,  
when Sir Christopher Hatton, in a very great assembly,  
made an eloquent oration (which after I wene was  
at

put

put in print) at the pardoning and delivery of him from the gallows, that by error (as was thought) had discharged his pecoe upon her Majesties Barge, and hurt certaine persons in her highnesse presence. And in that oration hee declared and described very effectually, what incalculable damage had ensued to the Realme, if her Majesty by that or any other meanes should have bene taken from us. Hee set forth most lively before the eyes of all men, what division, what dissension, what bloodshed had ensued, and what small dangers were most certaine to fall upon us, whensoever that dolefull day should happen: wherein no man should bee sure of his life, of his goods, of his wife, of his children: no man certaine whether to flee, whom to follow, or where to seek reposes and protection.

And as all the hearers there present did easily grant that hee therein said truth and farre lesse then might have bene said in that behalfe, things standing as they doe: so many one (I trow) that heard these words proceeded from a Councellour, that had good cause to know the state of his owne Countrey: entred into this cogitation what punishment they might deserve then, at the whole State and Common-wealths hands, who first by letting her Majesty from marriage, and then by procuring this statute of dissembling the next inheritance: had brought their Realme into so evident and inevitable dangers? for every one well considered and weighed with himselfe, that the thing which yet only letted these dangers and miserie set downe by Sir Christopher, must necessarily one day faile us all, that is, the life of her Majesty now present: and then (say wee) how fallacious it is, that so generall a calamity as must needs overtake us ere it be long, and may, for any thing wee know to morrow next, is not provided for, as well as foreseene.

Intollerable  
reasons;

Is there no remedy, but that wee must willingly and wittingly ruine into our owne ruine? and for the favour or feare of some few aspirours, betray our Country and the blood of so many thousand innocents, as live within the land?

The miseries  
so follow  
upon her Ma-  
jesties death.

For tell mee (good Sirs) I pray you, if her Majesty should die to morrow next (whose life God long preserve and blesse,) but if shee should bee taken from us, (as by condition of nature and humane frailty shee may) what would you doe? which way would you looke? or what head or part, knew any good subject in the Realme to follow? I speake not of the conspirators, for I know they will bee ready and resolved whom to follow: but I speake of the plaine, simple and well meaning subject, who following now the utter letter of this fraudulent statute, (fraudulent I meane in the secret concept of the enining aspirours:) shall bee taken at that day upon the sudden, and being put in a maze by the unexpected contention about the Crowne, shall bee brought into a thousand dangers, both of body and goods, which now are not thought upon, by them who are most in danger of the same. And this is, for the Common wealth and Country.

oldavallornt  
anoleson

The danger  
to her Maje-  
sty by this  
statute.

But unto her Majesty, for whose good and safety, the statute is onely pretended to bee made, no doubt, but that it bringeth farre greater dangers; then any devise that they have used besides. For hereby under colour of restraining the claimes and titles of true successours, (whose endeavours notwithstanding, are commonly more calme and moderate then of usurpers,) they make unto themselves, a meane to foster and set forward their owne conspiracy without controulment: seeing no man of might may oppose himselfe against them, but with suspicion, that hee meeth

rieth to claime for himselfe. And so they being armed, on the one side, with their authority and force of present fortune, and defended, on the other side, by the pretence of the statute: they may securely worke and plot at their pleasure, as you have well proved before that they doe. And whensoever their grounds and foundations shall bee ready, it cannot bee denied, but that her Majesties life, lieth much at their discretion, to take it, or use it, to their best commodity: (and there is no doubt, but they will,) as such men are wont to doe in such affaires. Marry one thing standeth not in their powers so absolutely, and that is, to prolong her Majesties dayes or favour towards themselves, at their pleasures: whereof it is not unlike but they will have due consideration, least perhaps upon any sudden accident, they might bee found unready.

They have good care thereof I can assure you, *Gentleman*, (quoth the Gentleman) and meane not to bee prevented by any accident, or other mishap whatsoever: they will bee ready for all events: and for that cause, they hasten so much their preparations at this day, more then ever before: by sending out their spies and solicitours every where, to prove and confirme their friends: by delivering their Common watch-word: by complaining on all hands of our protestants Bishops and Clergy, and of all the present state of our irreformed religion, (as they call it:) by amplifying onely the danger of Papists and Scottish faction: by giving out openly that now her Majesty is past hope of Childbirth, and consequently seeing God hath given no better successe that way in two Women one after the other: it were not convenient (say they) that an other of that sexe should ensue: with high commendation of the Law *Salick* in *France*, where

The hast-  
ning of the  
Conspir-  
tours.



whereby women are forbidden to succeed. Which speech though in shew, it bee delivered against the Queene of *Scots* and other of King *Henry* the seventh his line, that descend of Sisters: yet all men see that it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty, that is present, as others to come: and so tendeth directly to Maturation of the principall purpose, which I have declared before.

*Schollar.*

The Watch-  
word of the  
Conspira-  
tors.

Here said I, for the rest which you speake of, besides the Watch-word, it is common and every where treated in talks among them: but yet for the Watch-word it selfe (for that you name it) I thinke (Sir) many know it not, if I were the first that told you the story, as perchance I was. For in truth I came to it by a rare hap (as then I told you) the thing being uttered and expounded by a Baron of their owne faction, to an other Noble man of the same degree and religion, though not of the same opinion in these affaires. And for that I am requested not to utter the second, who told it mee in secret, I must also spare the name of the first: which otherwise I would not, nor the time and place where hee uttered the same.

*Lawyer.*

To this (said the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beseech you, let mee know this Watch-word (if there bee any such) for mine instruction and helpe, when need shall require. For I assure you that this Gentlemans former speech of halts hath so terrified mee, as if any should come and aske or feele my inclination in these matters, I would answer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word, whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

*Schollar.*  
*Are you satisfied,*

The Watch-word is, (said I) *whether you bee satisfied* or no? and if you answer yea, and seeme to understand the

the meaning thereof: then are you knowne to bee of their faction, and so to bee accompted and dealt withall for things to come. But if you stagger or doubt in answering, as if you knew not perfectly the mystery (as the Noble man my good Lord did, imagining that it had beene meant of his religion, which was very well knowne to bee good and sealed in the Gospell) then are you discredited thereby, either not to bee of their side, or els to bee but a Dunie not well instructed, and consequently, hee that moveth you the question, will presently breake of that speech, and turne to some other talke, untill afterward occasion bee given to perswade you, or els instruct you better in that affaire.

A great mystery.

Marry the Noble man, whereof I spake before, perceiving by the demanding, that there was some mystery in covert, under the question: tooke hold of the words, and would not suffer the propounder to slip away (as hee endeavoured) but with much intreaty, brought him at length, to expound the full meaning and purpose of the riddle. And this was the first occasion (as I thinke) whereby this secret came abroad. Albeit afterwards at the publique communions, which were made throughout so many shires, the matter became more common: especially, among the strangers that inhabite (as you know) in great numbers with us at this day. All which (as they say) are made most assured to this faction, and ready to assist the same with great forces at all occasions.

Good Lord (quoth the Lawyer) how many mysteries and secrets bee there abroad in the World, whereof wee simple men know nothing and suspect lesse. This Watch-word should I never have imagined: and for the great and often assemblies under pretence of Communions, though of themselves and of there

Lawyer.

Assemblies at communions.

whereby women are forbidden to succeed. Which speech though in shew, it bee delivered against the Queene of Scots and other of King Henry the seventh his line, that descend of Sisters: yet all men see that it toucheth as well the disabling of her Majesty, that is present, as others to come: and so tendeth directly to Maturation of the principall purpose, which I have declared before.

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The Watch-  
word of the  
Conspira-  
cours.

*Lawyer.* To this (said the Lawyer) you doe well in that: but yet I beseech you, let mee know this Watch-word (if there bee any such) for mine instruction and helpe, when need shall require. For I assure you that this Gentlemans former speech of halters hath so terrified mee, as if any should come, and aske or feele my inclination in these matters; I would answer them fully to their good contentment, if I knew the Watch-word, whereby to know them. For of all things, I love not to bee hanged for quarrels of Kingdomes.

*Schollar.* The Watch-word is, (said I) *whether you bee sealed*  
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A great mystery.

Lawyer.

Assemblies at communions.

owne



Strangers  
within the  
Land.

The perill of  
our Country  
if Hunting-  
tons claime  
take place.

Gentleman.

The red  
rose and the  
white.

owne nature, they were unaccustomed, and consequently subject to suspition: yet did I never conceive so farre forth as now I doe: as neither of the lodging and entertaining of so many strangers in the Realme, whereof our Artizans doe complaine every where. But now I see the reason thereof, which (no doubt) is founded upon great policy for the purpose. And by this also I see, that the house of *Huntington*, presseth farre forward for the game, and shouldreth neare the goale to lay hands upon the same. Which to tell you plainly, liketh mee but a litle: both in respect of the good will I beare to the whole line of King *Henry*, which hereby is like to bee dispossessed: as also for the misery, which I doe foresee, must necessarily ensue upon our Countrey, if once the chalenge of *Huntington* take place in our Realme. Which challenge being derived from the title of *Clarence* onely, in the House of *Torke*, before the union of the two great Houses: raiseth up againe the old contention, betweene the families of *Torke* and *Lancaster*, wherein so much *English* blood was spilt in times past, and much more like to bee powred out now, if the same contention should bee set on foot againe. Seeing that to the controversie of titles, would bee added also the controversie of Religion, which of all other differences is most dangerous.

Sir (quoth the Gentleman) now you touch a matter of consequence indeed, and such as the very naming thereof, maketh my heart to shake and tremble. I remember well, what *Philipp Comminus* setteth downe in his history of our Countries calamity, by that contention of those two Houses, distinguished by the red rose and the white: but yet both in their armes might justly have borne the colour of red with a fire sword in a black field to signifie the abundance

of

of bloud and mortality, which ensued in our Countrey, by that most wofull and cruell contention.

I will not stand here to set downe the particulars, observed and gathered by the foresaid author, though a stranger, which for the most part hee saw himselfe, while hee lived about the Duke of *Burgundy* and King *Leues* of *France* of that time: namely the pittifull description of divers right Noble men of our Realme, who besides all other miseries, were driven to begge openly in forraigne Countries, and the like. Mine owne observation in reading over our Countrey affaires, is sufficient, to make mee abhorre the memory of that time, and to dread all occasion, that may lead us to the like in time to come: seeing that in my judgement, neither the Civill warres of *Marcius* and *Silla*, or of *Pompey* and *Cesar* among the *Romans*, nor yet the *Guelphians* and *Gibelines* among the *Italians*, did ever worke so much wo, as this did to our poore Countrey. Wherein by reason of the contention of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* were foughten sixteene or seventeene pitched fields, in lesse then an hundredth yeares. That is, from the cleventh or twelfth yeare of King *Richard* the second his raigne ( when this controversie first began to bud up ) unto the thirteenth yeare of King *Henry* the seventh. At what time by cutting off the chiefe titler of *Huntingtons* house, to wit, yong *Edward Plantaginet* Earle of *Warwick*, Sonne and Heire to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the contention most happily was quenched and ended, wherein so many fields (as I have said) were foughten, betweene Brethren and Inhabitants of our owne nation. And therein, and other wise onely about the same quarrell, were slaine murdered and made away, about nine or tenne Kings and Kings Sonnes, besides above fourty Earles, Marquesses, and Dukes of name; but many more

The misery  
of England  
by the con-  
tention be-  
twene  
*Yorke* and  
*Lancaster*.

*Guelphians*  
and *Gibelines*.

*Edward Plantaginet* Earle  
of *Warwick*.

The Battell  
by *Tadcaster*  
on *Pilme*  
Sunday, *An.*  
1460.

Lords, Knights, and great Gentlemen and Captains, and of the Common-people without number, and by particular conjecture very neare two hundred thousand. For that in one Battell fought by King *Edward* the fourth, there are recorded to bee slaine on both parts, five and thirty thousand seven hundreth and eleven persons, besides other wounded and taken prisoners, to bee put to death after ward, at the pleasure of the Conquerours: at divers Battels after, ten thousand slaine at a Battell. As in those of *Barnet* and *Takesbury*, fought both in one year.

The danger  
of *Hunting-*  
*tons* claime,  
to the Realm  
and to her  
Majesty.

This suffered our afflicted Countrey in those dayes, by this infortunate and deadly contention, which could never bee ended, but by the happy conjunction of those two houses together, in *Henry* the seventh: neither yet so (as appeareth by Chronicle) untill (as I have said) the state had out of, the issue male of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was cause of divers perils to King *Henry* the seventh, though hee were in prison. By whose sister the faction of *Huntington* at this day, doth seeke to raise up the same contention againe with farre greater danger both to the Realme and to her Majesty that now raigneth, then ever before.

And for the Realme it is evident, by that it giveth roome to strangers, Competitours of the House of *Lancaster*: better able to maintaine their owne title by sword, then ever was any of that linage before them. And for her Majesties perill present, it is nothing hard to conjecture: seeing the same title in the foresaid Earle of *Warwick* was so dangerous and troublesome to her Grandfather (by whom shee holdeth) as hee was faine twice to take armes in defence of his right, against the said title, which was in those dayes preferred and advanced by the friends

of

of *Clarence*, before that of *Henry*: as also this of *Huntington* is at this day, by his fiction, before that of her Majesty though never so unjustly.

Touching *Huntingtons* title, before her Majesty (quoth the Lawyer) I will say nothing: because in reason, I see not by what pretence in the World, hee may thrust himselfe so farre forth: seeing her Majesty is descended, not onely of the House of *Launcesters* but also before him most apparently, from the House of *York* it selfe, as from the eldest daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, being the eldest brother of that House. Whereas *Huntington* claimeth onely, by the daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence* the yonger brother. Marry yet I must confesse that if the Earle of *Warwicks* title, were better then that of King *Henry* the seventh (which is most false, though many attempted to defend the same by sword:) then hath *Huntington* some wrong at this day, by her Majesty. Albeit in very truth, the † attaints of so many of his Antecessours by whom hee claimeth: would answere him also sufficiently in that behalfe, if his title were otherwise allowable.

But I know besides this, they have an other fetch of King *Richard* the third, whereby hee would needs prove, his elder brother King *Edward* to bee a Bastard: and consequently his whole line as well male as female to bee void. Which devise though it be ridiculous, and was at the time when it was first invented: yet, as *Richard* found at that time a Doctor *Shew*, that thamed not to publish and defend the same, at *Pauls* Crosse in a Sermon: and *John* of *Northumberland* my Lord of *Leycesters* Father, found out divers Preachers in his time, to set up the title of *Staffolke*, and to debate the right of King *Henrys* daughter both in *London*, *Cambridge*, *Oxford* and other places, most apparently

Lawyer.

admirer A  
and yd apion  
of the

How *Huntington* maketh his title before her Majesty.

† The most of *Huntingtons* Antecessours by whom hee maketh title, attained of treason. The infamous device of K *Richard* the third allowed by *Huntington*.

Anno 1. Marie.



A point to be  
noted by her  
Majesty.

against all law and reason: so I doubt not, but these men would find out also, both *Shewes*, *Sande*, and others, to set out the title of *Clarence*, before the whole interest of King *Henry* the seventh and his posterity, if occasion served. Which is a point of importance to be considered by her Majesty albeit for my part, I meane not now to stand thereupon, but onely upon that other of the House of *Lancaster*, as I have said.

The joyning  
of both  
houses.

For as that most honourable, lawfull, and happy conjunction of the two adversary Houses, in King *Henry* the seventh and his wife, made an end of the shedding of *Englishe* blood within it selfe, and brought us that most desired peace, which ever since wee have enjoyed, by the raigne of their two most noble issue: so the plot that now is in hand, for the cutting of, the residue of that issue, and for recalling back of the whole title to the onely house of *Torke* againe: is like to plunge us deeper, then ever in civile discord, and to make us the bait of all forraine Princes: seeing there bee among them at this day, some, of no small power (as I have said) who pretend to bee the next heires by the house of *Lancaster*: and consequently, are not like to give over or abandon their owne right, if once the doore bee opened to contention for the same, by disannulling the Line of King *Henry* the seventh: wherein onely the keyes of all concord remaine knit together.

The Line of  
*Portugall*.

And albeit I know well that such as bee of my Lord of *Huntingdowns* party, will make small account of the title of *Lancaster*, as lesse rightfull a great deale then that of *Torke* (and I for my part meane not greatly to avow the same, as now it is placed, being my selfe no favourer of forraine titles,) yet indifferent men have to consider, how it was taken in times past, and

and how it may againe, in time to come, if contention should arise: how many Noble personages of our Realme did offer themselves to die in defence thereof: how many oaths and lawes were given and received throughout the Realme for maintenance of the same, against the other House of *Yorke* for ever: how many worthy Kings were crowned, and raigned of that house and race, to wit, the foure most Noble *Henries*, one after an other, the fourth, the fift, the sixt, and the seventh: who both in number, governement, sanctity, courage, and feates of armes, were nothing inferiour (if not superiour) to those of the other house and line of *Yorke*, after the division betweene the families,

It is to bee considered also, as a speciall signe of the favour and affection, of our whole nation unto that family: that *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* though descending but of the last Sonne, and third wife of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, was so respected, for that onely by the universall Realme: as they inclined wholly, to call him from banishment, and to make him King, with the deposition of *Richard*, which then ruled of the House of *Yorke*, upon condition onely, that the said *Henry* should take to wife, a daughter of the contrary family: so great was in those dayes, the affection of *English* hearts, towards the line of *Lancaster*, for the great worthinesse of such Kings as had raigned of that race, how good or bad so ever their title were: which I stand not here at this time to discusse, but onely to insinnate, what party the same found in our Realme in times past, and consequently, how extreame dangerous the contention for the same may bee hereafter: especially, seeing that at this day, the remainder of that title, is pretended to rest wholly in a stranger, whose power is very great. Which wee Lawyers

The old estimation of the House of *Lancaster*.

*Henry* Earle of *Richmond*.

The Line of *Portugal*.

are wont to esteeme as a point of no small importance, for justifying of any mans title to a Kingdome.

*Schollar.*

You Lawyers want not reason in that Sir (quoth I) howsoever you want right: for if you will examine the succession of governments, from the beginning of the World unto this day, either among Gentile, Jewe, or Christian people, you shall find that the sword hath beene alwayes better then halfe the title, to get, establish, or maintaine a Kingdome: which maketh mee the more apalled to heare you discourse in such sort of new contentions, and forraine titles, accompanied with such power and strength of the titlers. Which cannot bee but infinitely dangerous and fatall to our Realme, if once it come to action, both for the division that is like to bee at home, and the variety of parties from abroad. For as the Prince whom you signifie, will not faile (by all likelihood) to pursue his title with all forces that hee can make, if occasion were offered: so reason of state and pollicy will enforce other Princes adjoyning, to let and hinder him therein what they can: and so by this meanes shall wee become *Juda* and *Israhel* among our selves; one killing and vexing the other with the sword: and to forraine Princes wee shall bee, as the Iland of *Salamina* was in old time to the *Athenians* and *Megarians*: and as the Iland of *Cicilia* was afterward to the *Grecians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*: and as in our dayes, the Kingdome of *Naples* hath beene to the *Spaniards*, *French men*, *Germans*, and *Venitians*: That is, a bait to feed upon, and a game to fight for.

Wherefore, I beseech the Lord, to avert from us all occasions of such miseries. And I pray you Sir, for that wee are fallen into the mention of these matters,

The sword  
of great force  
to justifie the  
title of a  
Kingdome.

Great dangers.

ters, to take so much paines as to open unto mee the ground of these controversies, so long now quiet, betweene *Yorke* and *Lancaster*: seeing they are now like to bee raised againe. For albeit in generall I have heard much thereof, yet in particular, I either conceive not, or remember not, the foundation of the same: and much lesse the state of their severall titles at this day, for that it is a study not properly pertaining unto my profession.

The controversie betweene the Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* (quoth the Lawyer) tooke his actuall beginning in the issue of King *Edward* the third, who died somewhat more then two hundred yeares agoe: but the occasion, pretence or cause of that quarrell, began, in the children of King *Henry* the third, who died an hundred yeares before that, and left two Sonnes, *Edward* who was King after him, by the name of *Edward* the first, and was Grandfather to *Edward* the third: and *Edmond*, (for his deformity called *Crookeback*) Earle of *Lancaster* and beginner of that house, whose inheritance afterward in the fourth discent, fell upon a Daughter named *Blanch*, who was married to the fourth Sonne of King *Edward* the third, named *John* of *Gaunt*, for that hee was borne in the City of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*, and so by this his first wife, hee became Duke of *Lancaster* and heire of that house. And for that his Sonne *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* (afterward called King *Henry* the fourth) pretended among other things, that *Edmond Crookeback*, great Grandfather to *Blanch* his mother, was the elder Sonne of King *Henry* the third, and unjustly put by the inheritance of the Crowne, for that hee was *Crookebacked* and deformed: hee tooke by force, the Kingdome from *Richard* the second, Nephew to King *Edward* the third by his first Sonne, and placed the same

Lawyer.

The beginning of the controversie betwixt *Yorke* and *Lancaster*.

*Edmond Crookeback* beginner of the House of *Lancaster*, *Blanch*.

*John* of *Gaunt*.



How the  
Kingdome  
was first  
brought to  
the House of  
Lancaster.

in the house of *Lancaster*, where it remained for three whole discentis, untill afterward, *Edward* Duke of *Torke* descended of *John* of *Gaunts* yonger brother, making claime to the Crowne by title of his Grandmother, that was heire to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunts* elder Brother: tooke the same by force from *Henry* the sixt, of the House of *Lancaster*, and brought it back againe to the House of *Torke*: where it continued with much trouble in two Kings onely, untill both Houses were joyned together in King *Henry* the seventh and his noble issue.

The issue of  
*John* of  
*Gaunt*.

Hereby wee see how the issue of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Sonne to King *Edward* the third, pretended right to the Crowne by *Edmond Crookebacks*, before the issue of all the other three Sonnes of *Edward* the third, albeit they were the elder Brothers, whereof wee will speake more hereafter. Now *John* of *Gaunt* though hee had many children, yet had hee foure onely, of whom issue remaine, two Sonnes and two Daughters. The first Sonne was *Henry* of *Bolingbrooke* Duke of *Lancaster*, who tooke the Crowne from King *Richard* the second, his Vnkles Sonne, as hath beene said, and first of all planted the same in the House of *Lancaster*: where it remained in two discentis after him, that is, in his Sonne *Henry* the fift, and in his Nephew *Henry* the sixt, who was afterward destroyed together with *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, his onely Sonne and heire, and consequently all that Line of *Henry* *Bolingbrooke* extinguished, by *Edward* the fourth of the House of *Torke*.

The pedigree  
of King  
*Henry* the 7.

The other Sonne of *John* of *Gaunt*; was *John* Duke of *Somerset* by *Katherine* *Sfinsford*, his third wife: which *John*, had issue an other *John*, and hee, *Margaret* his Daughter and Heire, who being married to *Ed-*

*mond*

*mond Tyder Earle of Richmond*, had issue *Henry Earle of Richmond*, who after was named King *Henry the seventh*, whose Line yet endureth.

The two Daughters of *John of Gaunt*, were married to *Portugall* and *Castile*: that is, *Philip borne of Blanch*, Heire to *Edmond Crookebacke*, as hath beene said, was married to *John King of Portugall*, of whom is descended the King that now possesseth *Portugall*, and the other Princes which have or may make title to the same: and *Katherin borne of Constance Heire of Castile*, was married back againe to *Henry King of Castile in Spaine*, of whom King *Philip* is also descended. So that by this, wee see, where the remainder of the House of *Lancaster* resteth, if the Line of King *Henry the seventh* were extinguished: and what pretext *forraine Princes* may have to subdue us, if my Lord of *Hausington* either now or after her Majesties dayes, will open to them the doore, by shutting out the rest of King *Henries* Line, and by drawing back the title to the onely House of *York* againe: which hee pretendeth to doe, upon this that I will now declare.

King *Edward the third*, albeit hee had many children, yet five onely will wee speake of, at this time. Whereof three were elder then *John of Gaunt*, and one yonger. The first of the elder, was named *Edward the black Prince*, who died before his Father, leaving one onely Sonne named *Richard* who afterward being King and named *Richard the second*, was deposed without issue, and put to death by his Cousin germain, named *Henry Bolingbrooke Duke of Lancaster*, Sonne to *John of Gaunt* as hath beene said, and so there ended the Line of King *Edwards* first Son.

King *Edwards* second Sonne, was *William of Hatfield* that died without issue.

The two Daughters married to Portugall and Castile.

Forraine titles,

The issue of King *Edward the 3<sup>d</sup>*

Two Ed-  
monds the  
two begin-  
ners of the  
two Houses  
of Lancaster  
and Yorke.

The claime  
and title of  
Yorke.

The issue of  
King Edward  
the fourth.

His third Sonne, was *Leonell Duke of Clarence*, whose onely Daughter and Heire called *Philp*, was married to *Edmond Mortimer Earle of March*: and after that, *Anne* the Daughter and Heire *Mortimer*, was married to *Richard Plantaginet Duke of Yorke*, Sonne and Heire to *Edmond of Langley* the first Duke of *Yorke*: which *Edmond* was the fift Sonne of King *Edward* the third, and yonger Brother to *John of Gaunt*. And this *Edmond of Langley* may bee called the first beginner of the House of *Yorke*: even as *Edmond Croockback* the beginner of the House *Lancaster*.

This *Edmond Langley* then, having a Sonne named *Richard*, that married *Anne Mortimer* sole Heire to *Leonell Duke of Clarence*, joyned two Lines and two Titles in one: I meane the Line of *Leonell* and of *Edmond Langley*, who were (as hath bene said) the third and the fift Sonnes to King *Edward* the third. And for this cause, the child that was borne of this marriage, named after his Father *Richard Plantaginet Duke of Yorke*, seeing himselfe strong, and the first line of King *Edward* the thirds eldest Sonne, to bee extinguished in the death of King *Richard* the second: and seeing *William of Hatfield* the second Sonne dead likewise without issue: made demand of the Crowne for the House of *Yorke*, by the title of *Leonell* the third Sonne of King *Edward*. And albeit hee could not obtaine the same in his dayes, for that hee was slaine in a Battell against King *Henry* the sixt at *Wakefield*: yet his Sonne *Edward* got the same, and was called by the name of King *Edward* the fourth.

This King at his death left divers children, as namely two Sonnes, *Edward* the fift and his brother, who after were both murdered in the Tower, as shall bee shewed: and also five Daughters: to wit *Elizabeth*,  
*Cecily*,

*Cecily, Anne, Katherine, and Briges.* Whereof, the first was married to *Henry the seventh*. The last became a Nunne, and the other three, were bestowed upon divers other husbands.

He had also two Brothers: the first was called *George Duke of Clarence*, who afterward upon his dejects (as is to bee supposed,) was put to death in *Calis*, by commandement of the King, and his attainder allowed by Parliament. And this man left behind him a Sonne named *Edward Earle of Warwick*, put to death afterward without issue, by King *Henry the seventh*, and a Daughter named *Adargaret, Countesse of Salisbury*, who was married to a meane Gentleman named *Richard Poole*, by whom shee had issue *Cardinall Poole* that died without marriage, and *Henry Poole* that was attainted and executed in King *Henry* the eight his time (as also herselfe was) and this *Henry Poole* left a Daughter married afterward to the Earle of *Huntington* by whom this Earle that now is maketh title to the Crowne. And this is the effect of my Lord of *Huntingtons* title.

The second Brother of King *Edward the fourth*, was *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, who after the Kings death, caused his two Sonnes to bee murdered in the Tower, and tooke the Kingdome to himselfe. And afterward hee being slaine by King *Henry the seventh* at *Bosworth-field*, left no issue behind him. Wherefore King *Henry the seventh* descending as hath beene shewed of the House of *Lancaster*, by *John of Gaunt* last Sonne and third Wife, and taking to wife Lady *Elizabeth* Eldest Daughter of King *Edward the fourth* of the House of *Yorke*: joyned most happily the two Families together, and made an end of all controversies about the title.

Now King *Henry the seventh* had issue three Children:

The Duke of  
Clarence at-  
tainted by  
Parliament.

*Huntingtons*  
title by the  
Duke of  
Clarence.

King *Richard*  
the third.

The happy  
conjunction  
of the two  
Houses.





The issue of  
King Henry  
the seventh.

The Line  
and Title of  
Scotland by  
Margaret el-  
dest Daugh-  
ter to King  
Henry the 7.

Arbella.

The Line  
and Title of  
Suffolke by  
Mary, second  
Daughter to  
King Henry  
the seventh.

The issue of  
Francis eldest  
Daughter to  
Charles Bran-  
don Duke of  
Suffolke.

dren : of whom remaineth posterity. First, *Henry* the eight, of whom is descended our soveraigne, her Majesty that now happily reigneth, and is the last that remaineth alive of that first Line. Secondly, hee had two Daughters : whereof the first named *Margaret*, was married twice, first to *James* King of *Scotland* from whom are directly descended the *Queene of Scotland* that now liveth and her Sonne: and King *James* being dead, *Margaret* was married again to *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Angus*: by whom shee had a Daughter named *Margaret*, which was married afterward, to *Mathew Steward* Earle of *Lennox*, whose Sonne *Charles Steward*, was married to *Elizabeth Candish* Daughter to the present Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, and by her hath left his onely Heire, a little Daughter named *Arbella*, of whom you have heard some speech before. And this is touching the Line of *Scotland*, descending from the first and eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh.

The second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh called *Mary*, was twice married also: first to the King of *France* by whom shee had no issue: and after his death to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*, by whom shee had two Daughters, that is, *Francis*, of which the Children of my Lord of *Hartford* doe make their claime: and *Elenore* by whom the issue of the Earle of *Darby* pretendeth right, as shall bee declared. For that *Francis* the first Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the *Queene of France*, was married to the *Marquesse of Dorset*, who after *Charles Brandon*'s death was made Duke of *Suffolke* in right of his Wife, and was beheaded in *Queene Maries* time, for his conspiracy with my Lord of *Leycesters* Father. And shee had by this man three Daughters: that is, *Jane*, that was married to my Lord of *Leycesters* Brother, and pro- claimed

claimed Queene after King *Edward* death, for which both shee and her husband were executed: *Katherine* the second Daughter, who had two Sonnes, yet living, by the Earle of *Hartford*: and *Mary* the third Daughter, which left no Children.

The other Daughter of *Charles Brandon* by the Queene of *France* called *Elenor*, was married to *George Clifford* Earle of *Cumberland*, who left a Daughter by her named *Margaret*, married to the Earle of *Dorby*, which yet liveth and hath issue. And this is the tulle of all the House of *Suffolke*, descended from the second Daughter of King *Henry* the seventh, married (as hath beene shewed) to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*. And by this, you see also how many there bee, who doe thinke their titles to bee far before that of my Lord of *Huntington*, if either right, law, reason, or consideration of home affaires may take place in our Realme: or if not, yet you cannot but imagine how many great Princes and Potentates abroad, are like to joyne and buelde with *Huntington* Line for the preeminence: if once the matter fall againe to contention by excluding the Line of King *Henry* the seventh which God forbid.

Truly Sir (quoth I) I well perceive that my Lords turne is not so nigh as I had thought, whether hee exclude the Line of King *Henry*, or no. For if hee exclude that, then must hee enter the Combat with foraine titlers of the House of *Lancaster*: and if hee exclude it not, then in all apparance of reason and in Law to (as you have said) the succession of the two Daughters of King *Henry* the seventh (which you distinguish by the two names of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*) must needs bee as clearly before him and his Line, that descendeth onely from *Edward* the fourth his Brother: as the Queenes title that now reigneth

The issue of *Francis* eldest daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*.

The issue of *Elenor* second daughter to *Charles Brandon*.

*Sabollar*:  
*Huntington*  
behind many  
other titles.

Answered  
the  
question  
of  
the  
title  
of  
the  
King  
of  
England  
and  
France  
in  
the  
seventh  
year  
of  
his  
Majesty

before him: For that both *Savoy* and *Suffolk*, and her Majesty doe hold all by one foundation; which is, the union of both Houses, and Titles together, in King *Henry* the seventh her Majesties Grandfather.

Gentleman.

That is true (quoth the Gentleman): and evident enough in every mans eye: and therefore no doubt, but that as much is meant against her Majesty if occasion serve, as against the rest that hold by the same title. Albeit her Majesties state (the Lord her praised) bee such at this time, as it is not safety to pretend so much against her, as against the rest, whatsoever bee meant. And that in truth, more should bee meant against her highnesse, then against all the rest, there is this reason: for that her Majesty by her present possession letteth more their desires, then all the rest together with there future pretences. But as I have said, it is not safety for them, nor yet good policy to declare openly, what they meane against her Majesty: It is the best way for the present, to shew downe the rest, and to leave her Majesty, for the last blow and upshote to their game. For which cause, they will seeme to make great difference at this day, betwixt her Majesties title, and the rest; that descend in like wise from King *Henry* the seventh; avowing the one, and disallowing the other. Albeit, my Lord of *Leicester* Father, preferred that of *Suffolk*; when time was, before this of her Majesty, and compelled the whole Realme to swear thereunto. Such is the variable policy of men, that serve the time, or rather, that serve themselves, of all times, for their purposes.

The policy  
of the Con-  
spirators for  
the deceiving  
of her Maje-  
sty.

Scholar.

I remember (quoth I) that time of the Duke, and was present my selfe, at some of his Proclamations for that purpose. Wherein my Lord his Sonne that

now

now lieth being then & doer, (as I can tell her was) I marvaile how her can deale so contrary now: preferring not onely her Majesties side before that of *Suffolke* (whereof I wonder lesse because it is more gaudull to him,) but also another much further of. But you have signified the cause, in that the times are changed, and other bargaines are in hand of more importance for him. Wherefore leaving this to be considered by others, whom it concerneth, I beseech you, Sir, (for that I know, your worship hath bene much conversant among their friends and favourers) to tell mee what are the barres and lettes which they doe alledge, why the House of *Scotland* and *Suffolke* descending of King *Henry* the seventh his Daughters, should not succeed in the Crowne of *England* after her Majesty, who endeth the Line of the same King by his Sonne: for in my sight the matter appeareth very plaine.

They want not pretences of barres and lets against them all (quoth the Gentleman) which I will lay downe in order, as I have heard them alledged. First in the Line of *Scotland* there are three persons as you know that may pretend right: that is, the Queene and her sonne by the first marriage of *Margaret*; and *Arbella* by the second. And against the first marriage I heare nothing affirmed: but against the two persons proceeding thereof, I heare them alledge three stops: one, for that they are strangers borne out of the land, and consequently incapable of inheritance within the same: another, for that by a speciall testament of King *Henry* 8. authorized by severall Parliaments they are excluded: the third for that they are enemies to the religion now received among us, & therefore to be detested. Against the second marriage of *Margaret* with *Archibald Douglas* whereof *Arbella* is descended, they alledge

*Loyallists* vs. *trahitors*.

Gentleman,

Barres pretended against the claime of *Scotland* and *Suffolke*.

Against the Queene of *Scotland* and her sonne.

Against the

Against the bells.



alledge, that the said *Archibald* had a former wife at the time of that marriage, which lived long after & to neither that marriage lawful, nor the issue thereof legitimate.

The same barre they have against all the house and Line of *Suffolk*, for first they say, that *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, had a knowen wife alive when he married *Mary* Queene of *France*, and consequently, that neither the Lady *Frances* nor *Eleanor*, borne of that marriage, can be lawfully borne. And this is all, I can heare them say against the succession of the Countesse of *Darby* descended of *Eleanor*. But against my Lord of *Hartford*'s children, that come from *Frances* the eldest daughter, I heare them alledge two or three bastardies more besides this of the first marriage, For first, they affirme that *Henry* Marquesse *Dorset*, when he married the Lady *Frances*, had to wife the old Earle of *Arundels* sister, who lived both then and many yeares after, and had a provision out of his living to her dying day: whereby that marriage could no way be good. Secondly, that the Lady *Katherine* daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, by the Marques (by whom the Earle of *Hartford* had his children) was lawfully married to the Earle of *Pembroke* that now liveth, & consequently, could have no lawfull issue by any other during his life. 3<sup>ly</sup>. that the said *Katherine* was never lawfully married to the said Earle of *Hartford*, but bare him those children as his Concubine, which (as they say) is defined and registred in the Archbishop of *Canterburies* court, upon due examination taken by order of her Majesty that now reigneth, and this is in effect so much as I have heard them alledge, about these affaires.

Against *Darby*.  
by.

Against the  
children of  
*Hartford*.

Scholler.

It is much (quoth I) that you have said, if it may be all proved, Marry yet by the way, I cannot but smile to heare my Lord of *Leicester* allow of so many bastardies now upon the issue of Lady *Frances*, whom in

time.

time past, when *Law* her eldest daughter was married to his brother, he advanced in legitimation before both the daughters of *K. Henry* the eight. But to the purpose: I would gladly know what grounds of veritie these allegations have, and how far is truth they may stoppe from inheritance: for indeed I never heard them so distinctly alleged before.

Whereto answered the Gentleman, that our friend the Lawyer could best resolve that, if it pleased him to speake without his fear: though in some points alleged every other man (quoth he) that knoweth the state and common government of *England*, may easily give his judgement also. As in the case of bastardie, if the matter may be proved, there is no difficulty, but that no right to inheritance can justly be pretended: as also (perhaps) in the case of forraine birth, though in this I am not so cunning: but yet I see by experience, that forreiners borne in other lands, can hardly come and claime inheritance in *England*, albeit, to the contrary, I have heard great and long disputes, but such as indeed passed my capacity. And if it might please our friend here present to expound the thing unto us more clearly: I for my part would gladly bestow the hearing, and that with attention.

To this answered the Lawyer. I will gladly, Sir, tel you my mind in any that it shall please you demand: and much more in this matter, wherein by occasion of often conference, I am somewhat perfect.

The impediments which these men alledge against the succession of *K. Henry* the 8. his sisters, are of two kinde, as you see: The one knowen and allowed in our law, as you have well said, if it may be proved: and that is bastardie: whereby they seek to disable all the whole Line and issue of *Sussex*: as also *Arbella* of the second and later house of *Devon*. Whereof it is

**Gentleman**

**Bastardy**

**Forraine birth**

**Lawyer**

**Bastardies  
lawfull stopes**

to that purpose to speake any thing here, seeing the whole controversy standeth upon a matter of fact only, to be proved or disproved by records and witness. Only this I will say, that some of these bastards, before named, are alive in many mens mouths, and avowed by divers that yet live: but let other men look to this, who have most interest therein, and may bee most damaged by them, if they fall out true.

The impediments against Scots land three in number.

A protestation.

Touching the first impediment of forraine birth.

The other impediments, which are alledged only against the Queene of Scots and her Sonne, are in number three, as you recite them: that is, forraine birth, King Henries Testament and Religion: whereof I am content to say some what, seeing you desire it: albeit there bee so much published already in bookes of divers languages beyond the sea, as I am informed, concerning this matter, as more cannot bee said. But yet so much as I have heard passe among Lawyers my betters, in conference of these affaires: I will not let to recite unto you, with this Protesto and Protestation alwayes, that what I speake, I speake by way of recitall of other mens opinions, not meaning my selfe to incurre the fault of affirming or avowing any persons title to the Crowne, what soever.

First then touching forraine birth, there bee some men in the World that will say, that it is a common and generall rule of our law, that no stranger at all may inherit any thing, by any meanes, within the Land: which in truth I take to bee spoken without ground, in that generall sense. For I could never yet conceive the right of any such common or universall rule: and I know, that divers examples may bee alledged in sundry cases to the contrary: and by that, which is expressly let downe in the seventh and ninth years

years of King Edward the fourth, and in the eleventh and fourteenth of Henry the fourth, it appeared plainly that a stranger may purchase lands in England, as also inherit by his Wife, if hee marry an inheritor. Wherefore this common rule is to bee restrained from that generality, unto proper inheritance only: in which sense I do easily grant, that our Common law hath bene of ancient, and is at this day, that no person borne out of the allegiance of the King of England whose Father and Mother were not of the same allegiance at the time of his birth, shall bee able to have or demand any heritage within the same allegiance, as heire to any person. And this rule of our Common law is gathered in these fewe same words of a statute made in the five and twentieth years of King Edward the third, which indeed is the onely place of effect, that can bee alledged out of our law against the inheritance of strangers in such sense and cases, as wee now treat of.

And albeit now the Common law of our Country, doe runne thus in generall, yet will the friends of the *Scottish* claims affirme, that hereby that title is nothing let or hindered at all towards the Crowne, and that for divers manifest and weighty reasons: whereof the principall are these which ensue.

First it is common, and a generall rule of our English lawes, that no Rule, Axiome, or Maxima of law (bee it never so generall) can touch or bind the Crowne, except expresse mention bee made thereof, in the same: for that the King and Crowne have great priviledge and prerogative, above the state and affairs of subjects, and great differences allowed in points of law.

As for example, it is a generall and common rule of law, that the wife after the decease of her husband, shall

An Alien  
may purchase  
chale.

The true  
Maxima a-  
gainst Aliens.

The same  
of King Edward  
whence  
the Maxima  
is gathered.

Reasons, why  
the Scottish  
title is not  
letted by the  
Maxima a-  
gainst Aliens.

The first  
reason.

The rule of  
thirds.



**Tenant by  
courtesie.**

shall enjoy the third of his lands: but yet the Queene shall not enjoy the third part of the Crowne, after the Kings death: as well appeareth by experience, and is to bee seene by Law, *Anno 5. and 31. of Edward the third*: and *Anno 9. and 28. of Henry the first*. Also it is a common rule, that the Husband shall hold his wives lands after her death: as tenant by courtesie during his life, but yet it holdeth not in a Kingdome.

**Division a-  
mong daugh-  
ters.**

In like manner, it is a generall and common rule, that if a man die seised of Land in Fee simple, having Daughters and no Sonne: his lands shall bee divided by equall portions among his Daughters: which holdeth not in the Crowne: but rather the eldest Daughter inheriteth the whole, as if shee were the issue male. So also it is a common rule of our law, that the executoir shall have all the goods and chattels of the Testatour, but yet not in the Crowne. And so in many other cases which might bee recited, it is evident that the Crowne hath priviledge above others, and can bee subject to rule, bee it never so generall, except expresse mention bee made thereof in the same law: as it is not in the former place and a statute alleaged: but rather to the contrary, (as after shall bee shewed) there is expresse exception, for the prerogative of such as descend of Royall blood.

**The 2 reason  
The Crowne  
no such inhe-  
ritance as is  
meant in the  
Statute.**

Their second reason is, for that the demand or title of a Crowne, cannot in true sense bee comprehended under the words of the former statute, forbidding Aliens to demand heritage within the allegiance of *England*: and that for two respects. The one, for that the Crowne it selfe cannot bee called an heritage of allegiance or within allegiance, for that it is holden of no superior upon earth, but immediately from God

God himselfe : the second, for that this statute treateth onely and meaneth of inheritance by descent, as Heire to the same, ( for I have shewed before that Aliens may hold lands by purchase within our Dominion ) and then say they, the Crowne is a thing incorporate and descendeth not according to the common course of other private inheritances : but goeth by succession, as other incorporations doe. In signe whereof, it is evident, that albeit, the King bee more favoured in all his doings then any common person shall bee : yet cannot hee avoid by law his grants and letters patents by reason of his nonage ( as other infants and common heires under age may doe ) but alwayes bee said to bee of full age in respect of his Crowne : even as a Prior, Parson, Vicar, Deane, or other person incorporate shall bee, which cannot by any means in law bee said, to bee within age, in respect of their incorporations.

The Crown  
a corpora-  
tion.

Which thing maketh an evident difference in our case, from the meaning of the former statute: for that a Prior, Deane, or Parson, being Aliens and no Denizens : might alwayes in time of peace, demand lands in *England*, in respect of their corporations, notwithstanding the said statute or common law against Aliens, as appeareth by many booke cases yet extant : as also by the statute made in the time of King *Richard* the second, which was after the foresaid statute of King *Edward* the third.

The third reason is, for that in the former statute it selfe, of King *Edward*, there are excepted expressly from this generall rule, *Infantes du Roy*, that is, the Kings off-spring or issue, as the word *Infant* doth signifie both in *France*, *Portugall*, *Spain*, and other Countries : and as the latin word *Liberi* ( which answereth the same ) is taken commonly in the Civill law.

The third  
reason.  
The Kings  
issue excep-  
ted by name.

*Libetorum.  
F. de verb.  
sign.*

Neither may wee restrain the french words of that Statute *INFANTES DV ROY*, to the Kings children only of the first degree (as some doe, for that the barrenesse of our language doth yeeld us no other word for the same) but rather, that thereby are understood, as well the Nephewes and other discendants of the King or blood Royal, as his immediate children. For it were both unreasonable and ridiculous to imagine, that King *Edward* by this Statute, would goe about to disinherit his owne nephewes, if hee should have any borne out of his owne allegiance (as easily he might at that time) his sonnes being much abroad from *England*, and the blacke Prince his eldest sonne having two children borne beyond the seas: and consequently, it is apparent, that this rule or Maximet set downe against Aliens is no way to be stretched against the discendants of the King or of the blood Royall.

The fourth  
reason.  
The Kings  
meaning.

Their fourth reason is, that the meaning of King *Edward* and his children (living at such time as this statute was made) could not be, that any of their lineage or issue might be excluded in law, from inheritance of their right to the Crowne, by their forreine birth wheresoever. For otherwise, it is not credible that they would so much have dispersed their own blood in other countries, as they did: by giving their daughters to strangers, and other meanes. As *Leonor* the kings third sonne was married in *Millan*: and *John* of *Gauant* the fourth sonne gave his two daughters, *Philip* and *Katherine* to *Portugall* and *Cassile*: and his neice *Joan* to the King of *Scots*: as *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* also the youngest brother, married his two daughters, the one to the King of *Spain*, and the other to Duke of *Brittaine*. Which no doubt (they being wise Princes, and so neere of the blood Royal) would never have done.

The matches  
of England  
with forrai-  
ners.

done: if they had imagined that hereby their issue should have lost all clayme and title to the Crowne of *England*: and therefore it is most evident, that no such barre was then extant or imagined.

Their fift reason is, that divers persons borne out of all English dominion and allegiance, both before the conquest and since, have bene admitted to the succession of our Crowne, as lawfull inheritors, without any exception against them for their forraine birth. As before the conquest is evident in young *Edgar Eshelling* borne in *Hungarie*, and thence called home to inherit the Crowne, by his great Vncle King *Edward the Confessor*, with full consent of the whole Realme, the Bishop of *Worcester* being sent as Ambassadour to fetch him home, with his father named *Edward the out-law*.

And since the conquest, it appeareth plainly in King *Stephen* and King *Henry the second*, both of them borne out of English dominions, and of Parents, that at their birth, were not of the English allegiance: and yet were they both admitted to the Crowne. Young *Arthur* also Duke of *Brittaine* by his mother *Constance* that matched with *Geffray King Henry the seconds* sonne, was declared by King *Richard* his Vncle, at his departure towards *Jerusalem*, and by the whole Realme, for lawfull heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*, though he were borne in *Brittain* out of English allegiance, and so he was taken and adjudged by all the world at that day: albeit after King *Richard*'s death, his other Vncle *John*, most tyrannously took both his kingdome and his life from him. For which notable injustice he was detested of all men both abroad and at home: and most apparently scourged by God, with grievous and manifold plagues, both upon himselfe and upon the Realme, which yielded to his usurpation. So that by this also it appeareth, what the practice of our

The fift reason.

Examples of forrainers admitted.

*Flores hist.*  
An. 1066.

*Pol. lib. 15.*  
*Flor. hist.*  
1108.

King *John*  
a Tyrant.



countrey hath bene from time to time in this case of forraine birth : which practice is the best Interpreter of our common English law : which dependeth especially, and most of all, upon custome : nor can the adversary alleage any one example to the contrary.

The sixt  
reason.  
The judgement  
and  
sentence of  
K. Henry the  
seventh.

Their sixt, is of the judgement and sentence of King *Henry* the seventh, and of his Councell : who being together in consultation, at a certaine time about the mariage of *Margaret* his eldest daughter into *Scotland* : some of his Councell moved this doubt, what should ensue, if by chance the Kings issue male should faile, and so the succession devolve to the heires of the said *Margaret*, as now it doth ? Whereunto that wise and most prudent Prince made answer : that if any such event should be, it could not be prejudiciall to *England*, being the bigger part, but rather beneficiall : for that it should draw *Scotland* to *England* : that is, the lesser to the more : even as in times past it hapned in *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, and some other Provinces. Which answer appeased all doubts, and gave singular content to those of his Councell, as *Polidore* writeth, that lived at that time, and wrote the speciall matters of that reigne, by the Kings owne instruction. So that hereby wee see no question made of King *Henry* or his Counsellors touching forraine birth, to let the succession of Lady *Margaret*s issue : which no doubt would never have bene omitted in that learned assembly, if any law at that time had bene esteemed or imagined to barre the same.

And these are sixe of their principalest reasons, to prove, that neither by the words nor meaning of our common lawes, nor yet by custome or practice of our Realme, an Alien may be debarred from claime of his interest to the Crowne, when it falleth to him by rightfull descent in blood and succession. But in the  
par-

particular case of the Queene of Scots and her sonne, they doe adde another reason or two : thereby to prove them in very deed to be no Aliens. Not onely in respect of their often and continuall mixture with English blood from the beginning (and especially of late, the Queenes Grandmother and husband being English, and so her sonne begotten of an English father) but also for two other causes and reasons, which seeme in truth of very good importance.

The first is, for that *Scotland* by all English men, (howsoever the Scots deny the same) is taken and holden as subject to *England* by way of Homage : which many of their Kings, at divers times have acknowledged : and consequently, the Queene and her sonne being borne in *Scotland*, are not borne out of the allegiance of *England*, and so no forrainers.

The second cause or reason is, for that the forenamed statute of Forrainers in the five and twenty yeare of King *Edward* the third, is intituled of those that are borne beyond the seas. And in the body of the same statute, the doubt is moved of children borne out of English allegiance beyond the seas : whereby cannot be understood *Scotland*, for that it is a peece of the continent land within the seas. And all our old Records in *England*, that talke of service to be done within these two countries : have usually these latine words, *Intra quatuor maria*, or in French, *deins les quatre mers*, that is, within the foure seas : whereby must needs be understood as well *Scotland* as *England*, and that perhaps for the reason before mentioned, of the subjection of *Scotland* by way of Homage to the Crowne of *England*. In respect whereof it may be, that it was accounted of old, but one dominion or allegiance. And consequently, no man borne therein can be accounted an Alien to *England*. And this shall suffice for the

The seventh reason.

The Q. of Scots and her sonne no Aliens.

The second  
impediment  
against the  
Q. of Scots.  
and her son  
which is K.  
Henry the  
eighth's Te-  
stament.

Forrain birth  
no impedi-  
ment in the  
judgement of  
K. Henry the  
eight.

The succe-  
sion of Scot-  
land next by  
the judge-  
ment of the  
competitors.

first point, touching forraine Nativity.

For the second impediment objected, which is the Testament of King *Henry* the eight, authorized by Parliament, whereby they affirme the succession of *Scotland* to bee excluded: it is not precisely true that they are excluded, but onely that they are put back behind the succession of the house of *Suffolke*. For in that pretended Testament (which after shall be proved to be none indeed) King *Henry* so disposeth, that after his owne children (if they should chance to die without issue) the Crowne shall passe to the heires of *Frances*, and of *Elenore*, his neices by his younger sister *Mary* Queene of *France*: and after them (deceasing also without issue) the succession to returne to the next heires againe. Whereby it is evident, that the succession of *Margaret* Queene of *Scotland* his eldest sister, is not excluded: but thrust back only from their due place and order, to expect the remainder, which may in time be left by the younger. Whereof in mine opinion doe ensue some considerations against the present pretenders themselves.

First, that in King *Henries* judgement, the former pretended rule of forraine birth, was no sufficient impediment against *Scotland*: for if it had beene no doubt, but that he would have named the same in his alleaged testament, and thereby have utterly excluded that succession. But there is no such thing in the Testament.

Secondly, if they admit this Testament, which alloteth the Crowne to *Scotland*, next after *Suffolke*: then, seeing that all the house of *Suffolke*, by these mens assertion) is excluded by *Bastardie*: it must needs follow, that *Scotland* by their owne judgement is next, and so this Testament will make against them, as indeed it doth in all points most apparently, but only that it preferreth the house of *Suffolke*, before that of *Scotland*;

*Lord.* And therefore (I thinke Sir) that you mistake somewhat about their opinion in alleaging this Testament. For I suppose, that no man of my Lord of *Huntingtons* faction, will alleage or urge the testimonie of this Testament: but rather some friend of the house of *Suffolke* in whose favour, I take it, that it was first of all forged.

It may be (quoth the Gentleman) nor will I stand obstinately in the contrary: for that it is hard, sometime to judge of what faction each one is, who discouseth of these affaires. But yet I marvell (if it were as you say) why *Leicesters* father after King *Edwards* death, made no mention thereof in the favour of *Suffolke*, in the other Testament which then he proclaymed, as made by King *Edward* deceased, for preferment of *Suffolke* before his owne sisters.

The cause of this is evident (quoth the Lawyer) for that it made not sufficiently for his purpose: which was to disinherite the two daughters of King *Henry* himselfe, and advance the house of *Suffolke* before them both.

A notable change (quoth the Gentleman) that a title so much exalted of late by the father, above all order, right, ranke, and degree: should now be so much debased by the sonne, as though it were not worthy to hold any degree, but rather to be troden under foot for plaine bastardie. And you see by this, how true it is which I told you before: that the race of *Dudleys* are most cunning Merchants, to make their game of all things, men and times. And as wee have seene now two testaments alleaged, the one of the Kings father, and the other of the Kings sonne, and both of them in prejudice of the testators true successors: so many good subjects begin greatly to feare, that wee may chance to see shortly a third testament of her Maiesty

Gentleman,

L A V V.  
The Duke  
of Northum-  
berlands drift.

Gentleman,

The mar-  
ble dealing of  
the house of  
*Dudley*.

for



for the intituling of *Huntington*, and extirpation of King *Henries* blood, and that before her Majesty can thinke of sicknesse: wherein I beseech the Lord I bee no Prophet. But now (Sir) to the foresaid Will and Testament of King *Henry*; I have often heard, in truth, that the thing was counterfeited, or at the least not able to bee proved: and that it was discovered, rejected, and defaced in Queene *Maries* time: but I would gladly understand what you Lawyers esteeme or judge thereof.

*Lawyer.*

The authority, and occasion of King *Henries* testament.

Touching this matter (quoth the Lawyer) it cannot bee denied, but that in the twenty and eight, and thirty and six yeares of King *Henries* raigne, upon consideration of some doubt and irresolution, which the King himselfe had shewed, to have about the order of succession in his owne children, as also for taking away all occasions of controversies in those of the next blood: the whole Parliament gave authority unto the said King, to debate and determine those matters himselfe, together with his learned Councell, who best knew the lawes of the Realme, and titles that any man might have thereby: and that whatsoever succession his Majesty should declare as most right and lawfull under his letters patents sealed, or by his last will and testament rightfully made and signed with his owne hand: that the same should bee received for good and lawfull.

Vpon pretence whereof, soone after King *Henries* death, there was shewed a will with the Kings stamp at the same, and the names of divers witnesses, wherein (as hath beene said) the succession of the Crowne, after the Kings owne children, is assigned to the Heires of *Fraunces* and of *Elenor*, Nieces to the King, by his yonger sister. Which assignation of the Crowne, being as it were a meere gift in prejudice of

of the elder sisters right (as also of the right of *Frances* and *Elenor* themselves, who were omitted in the same assignation, and their Heires intituled onely) was esteemed to bee against all reason, law, and nature, and consequently not thought to proceed from so wise and sage a Prince, as King *Henry* was knowne to bee: but rather, either the whole forged, or at leastwise that clause inserted by other, and the Kings stamp set unto it, after his death, or when his Majesty lay now past understanding. And hereof there wanteth not divers most evident reasons and proofes.

The Kings  
Testament  
forged.

For first, it is not probable or credible, that King *Henry* would ever goe about, against law and reason, to disinherite the line of his eldest sister, without any profit or interest to himselfe: and thereby, give most evident occasion of Civill warre and discord within the Realme, seeing, that in such a case of manifest and apparent wrong, in so great a matter, the authority of Parliament, taketh little effect, against the true and lawfull inheritour: as well appeared in the former times and contentions of *Henry* the sixth, *Edward* the fourth, and *Richard* the third: in whose reignes, the divers and contrary Parliaments made and holden, against the next inheritour, held no longer with any man, then untill the other was able to make his owne party good.

The first  
reason.

Injustice and  
improbability.

So likewise, in the case of King *Edward* the third his succession to *France*, in the right of his Mother, though hee were excluded by the generall assembly and consent of their Parliaments: yet hee esteemed not his right extinguished thereby: as neither did other Kings of our Countrey that ensued after him. And for our present case, if nothing els should have restrained King *Henry*, from such open injustice towards his eldest sister: yet this cogitation, at least,

The example  
of France.

T

would

would have stayed him : that by giving example of supplanting his elder sisters Line by vertue of a testament or pretence of Parliament : some other might take occasion to displace his children by like pretences : as wee see that Duke *Dudley* did soone after, by a forged testament of King *Edward* the sixth. So ready Schollars there are to bee found, which easily will learne such Lessons of iniquity.

The second  
reason.  
Incongruities  
and indigni-  
ties.

Secondly, there bee too many incongruities and indignities in the said pretended Will to proceed from such a Prince and learned Councell as King *Henries* was. For first what can bee more ridiculous, then to give the Crowne unto the Heires of *Frances* and *Eleanor*, and not to any of themselves ? or what had they offended, that their Heires should enjoy the Crowne in their right and not they themselves ? What if King *Henries* children should have died, whiles Lady *Francis* had beene yet alive ? who should have possessed the Kingdome before her, seeing her Line was next ? and yet by this testament shee could not pretend her selfe to obtaine it. But rather having married *Adrian Stokes* her Horfkeeper, shee must have suffered her Sonne by him (if shee had any) to enjoy the Crowne : and so *Adrian* of a serving man, and Master of horses, should have become the great Master and Protectour of *England*. Of like absurdity is that other clause also, wherein the King bindeth his owne Daughters to marry, by consent and direction of his counsell, or otherwise to leese the benefit of their succession : but yet bindeth not his Neices Daughters, to wit, the Daughters of *Francis* and *Eleanor* ( if that they had any ) to any such condition.

*Adrian  
Stokes.*

The third  
reason:

Thirdly, there may bee divers causes and arguments alleadged in law, why this pretended will is  
not

not authentically: if otherwise, it were certaine that King Henry had meant it: First, for that it is not agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Parliament, which intended onely to give authority, for declaration and explication of the true title: and not for donation or intrication of the same, to the ruine of the Realme. Secondly, for that there is no lawfull and authentically Copy extant thereof, but onely a bare inrolment in the Chancery, which is not sufficient in so weighty an affaire: no witness of the Privy Council or of Nobility to the same: which had bene convenient in so great a case (for the best of the witnesses therein named, is Sir John Gates, whose miserable death is well knowne:) no public Notary: no Probation of the will before any Bishop, or any lawfull Court for that purpose: no examination of the witnesses: or other thing orderly done, for lawfull authorizing of the matter.

But of all other things this is most of importance: that the King never set his owne hand to the said Will, but his stamp was put thereunto by others, either after his death, or when hee was past remembrance: as the late Lord *Pages* in the beginning of Queen *Maries* dayes, being of the Privy Council, first of all other discovered the same, of his owne accord, and upon more motion of conscience, confessing before the whole Council, and afterward also before the whole Parliament, how that himselfe was privy thereunto, and partly also culpable, (being drawn thereunto, by the instigation and forcible authority of others:) but yet afterward upon other more godly motions detested the device: and so of his owne free will, very honorably went and offered the discovery thereof to the Council. As also did Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord chiefe Justice, that had bene

The proposed Will is not authenticall.

On 1588 A.  
a 2nd copy  
sent mod  
ed: 1588 in  
London

The disproving of the Will by witnesses.

The Lord *Pages*

in 1588 J. M.  
a 2nd copy  
sent mod  
ed: 1588 in  
London

Sir *Edward Montague*.

privy



*William  
Clarke.*

privy and present at the said doings, and one *William Clarke*, that was the man who put the stamp unto the paper, and is ascribed among the other pretended witnesses, confessed the whole premisses to be true, and purchased his pardon for his offence therein. Whereupon *Queene Mary* and her Councell, caused presently the said inrolment, lying in the Chancery, to be canceled, defaced and abolished.

A meeting  
together a-  
bout this  
matter of the  
nobility.

And sithence that time in her Majesties dayes that now liveth about the 11. or 12. yeare of her raigne, (if I count not amiss) by occasion of a certaine little booke spred abroad at that time, very secretly, for advancing of the house of *Suffolke*, by pretence of this Testament: I remember well the place where the late Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse of *Winchester* (which then was Treasurer) the old Earles of *Arundell* and *Penbrooke* that now are dead, with my Lord of *Penbrooke* that yet liveth, (as also my Lord of *Leycester* himselfe if I be not deceived) with divers others, met together upon this matter: and after long conference about the foresaid pretended will, and many proofes and reasons laid downe, why it could not be true or authentically: the old Earle of *Penbrooke* protesting that hee was with the King in his Chamber from the first day of his sicknesse unto his last houre, and thereby could well assure the falsification thereof: at length it was moved, that from that place they should goe, with the rest of the Nobility, and proclaime the *Queene of Scotland* heire apparent in *Chesefide*. Wherein my Lord of *Leycester* (as I take it) was then as forward as any man els: how bee it, now, for his profit, hee bee turned aside, and would turne back againe to morrow next, for a greater commodity.

My Lord of  
*Leycester* a-  
gaine playeth  
double.

And albeit, for some causes to themselves best knowne,

knowne, they proceeded not in the open publishing of their determination at that time: yet my Lord of *Pembroke* now living, can beare witness that thus much is true: and that his Father the old Earle at that time, told him openly before the other Noblemen, that hee had brought him to that assembly and place, to instruct him in that truth, and to charge him, to witness the same, and to defend it also, with his sword (if need required) after his death. And I know that his Lordship is of that honour and nobility, as hee can not leave of easily the remembrance or due regard of so worthy an admonition. And this shall suffice for the second impediment, imagined to proceed of this supposed Testament of King *Henry* the eight.

The old Earle of *Pembroke* admonition, to the Earle his Sonne yet living.

As for the third impediment, of religion, it is not generall to all: for that onely one person (if I be not deceived) of all the Competitours in King *Henries* line, can be touched with suspicion of different religion, from the present state of *England*. Which person notwithstanding (as is well knowne) while shee was in government in her owne Realme of *Scotland*, permitted all liberty of conscience, and free exercise of religion, to those of the contrary profession and opinion, without restraint. And if shee had not: yet doe I not see, either by prescript of law, or practise of these our times, that diversity of religion, may stay just inheritours from enjoying their due possessions, in any state or degree of private men: and much lesse in the claime of a Kingdome: which alwayes in this behalfe (as hath beene said before) is preferred in privilege.

The third impediment of Religion

This wee see by experience, in divers Countries and parts of the World at this day: as in *Germany*, where among so many Princes, and so divided in religion.

Princes of *Germany*,

Queene Mary.  
Queene Elizabeth.

\* The Duke  
of Monsieur.

King of Navarre  
Prince  
of Condy.

My Lord of  
Huntingtons  
religion.

The title of  
those which  
enjoy the  
Queene of  
Scots.

ligion as they bee: yet every one succedeth to the state, whereto hee hath right, without resistance for his religion. The examples also of her Majesty that now is, and of her sister before, is evident: who being knowne to bee of two different inclinations in religion, and the whole Realme divided in opinion for the same cause: yet both of them at their severall times with generall consent of all, were admitted to their lawfull inheritance: excepting onely a few \* traitours against the former, who withstood her right as also in her, the right of her Majesty that is present, and that not for religion (as appeared by their owne confession after) but for ambition and desire of raigne. Monsieur, the Kings brother and heire of France, as all the World knoweth, is well accepted, favored and admitted for successour of that Crowne; by all the Protestants at this day of that Countrey, notwithstanding his opinion in religion knowne to bee different. And I doubt not, but the King of Navarre or Prince of Condy, in the contrary part, would thinke themselves greatly injured by the state of France, which is different from them in religion at this day, if after the death of the King that now is and his brother without issue, (if God so dispose) they should bee barred from inheriting the Crowne, under pretence onely of their religion. My Lord of Huntington himselfe also, is hee not knowne to bee of a different religion from the present state of England? and that, if hee were King to morrow next, hee would alter the whole government, order, condition, and state of religion, now used and established, within the Realme?

But as I said in the beginning, if one of a whole Family, or of divers Families, bee culpable, or to bee touched herein: what have the rest offended thereby?

will

will you exclude all, for the dislike of one? And to descend in order: if the first in King *Henries* line, after her Majesty may bee touched in this point, yet, why should the rest bee damnified thereby? The King of *Scotland* her Sonne, that next ensueth (to speake in equity) why should hee bee shut out for his religion? And are not all the other in like manner Protestants, whose descent is consequent, by nature, order and degree?

For the yong King of *Scotland* (quoth I) the truth is, that alwayes for mine owne patt, I have had great hope and expectation of him, not onely for the conceipt which commonly men have of such Orient youths, borne to Kingdomes: but especially for that I understood from time to time, that his education was in all learning, princely exercises and instruction of true religion, under rare and vertuous men for that purpose. Whereby I conceived hope, that hee might not onely become in time, an honourable and profitable neighbour unto us, for assurance of the Gospell in these parts of the World: but also (if God should deprive us of her Majesty without issue) might bee a meane by his succession to unite in Concord and Governement, the two Realmes together, which heretofore hath bene sought, by the price of many a thousand mens blood, and not obtained.

Marry yet now of late (I know not by what meanes) there is begun in mens hearts a certaine dislike or grudge against him, for that it is given out every where that hee is inclined to bee a Papist, and an enemy to her Majesties proceedings. Which argueth him verily, of singular ingratitude, if it bee true, considering the great helps and protection which hee hath received from her highnesse ever since hee was borne.

And

*Schollar?*

The yong  
King of  
*Scotland*.



*Gentleman.*

And are you so simple (quoth the Gentleman) as to beleve every report that you heare of this matter? know you not, that it is expedient for my Lord of *Leycester* and his faction, that this youth, above all other, bee held in perpetuall disgrace with her Majesty and with this Realme? You know, that *Richard of Glocester* had never beene able to have usurped as hee did, if hee had not first perswaded King *Edward* the fourth to hate his owne Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, which Duke stood in the way betweene *Richard* and the thing, which hee most of all things coveted. That is, the possibility to the Crowne, and so in this case is there the like device to bee observed.

For truly, for the yong King of *Scotland*s religion, it is evident to as many as have reason, that it can bee no other of it selfe but inclined to the best: both in respect of his education, instruction, and conversation, with those of true religion: as also by his former Actions, Edicts, Governement, and private behaviour, hee hath declared. Marry these men whose profit is nothing lesse, then that hee or any other of that race should doe well: doe not cease dayly by all secret wayes, drifts, and molestations possible, to drive him either to mislike of our religion, or els to incurre the suspicion thereof, with such of our Realme, as otherwise would bee his best friends: or if not this: yet for very need and feare of his owne life, to make recourse to such other Princes abroad, as may most offend or mislike this state.

And for this cause, they suborne certaine busie fellowes of their owne crew and faction, pertaining to the ministry of *Scotland*, (but unworthy of so worthy a calling) to use such insolency towards their King and Prince, as is not onely undecent, but intolerable. For hee may doe no thing, but they will examine

The device  
to set out her  
Majesty with  
the yong  
King of *Scot-*  
*land*.

The intol-  
erable proce-  
dings of cer-  
tain Ministers  
in *Scotland*  
against their  
King by sub-  
ordination of  
his enemies  
in *England*.

examine and discusse the same in Pulpit. If hee goe but on hunting, when it pleaseth them to call him to their preaching: if hee make but a dinner or supper, when, or where, or with whom they like not: if hee receive but a couple of horses or other present from his friends or kinsmen beyond the seas: if hee salute or use courteously any man or messenger which cometh from them (as you know Princes of their nobility and courtesie are accustomed, though they come from their enemies, as often hath beene scene and highly commended in her Majesty of England:) if hee deale familiarly with any Ambassadour which liketh not them: or finally if hee doe say, or signifie, any one thing whatsoever, that pleaseth not their humour: they will presently, as seditious tribunes of the people, exclaime in publique, and stepping to the Pulpit where the word of the Lord onely ought to bee preached: will excite the commonalty to discontentation, inveying against their soveraigne with such bitterness of speech, unreverend tearmes, and insolent contolements, as is not to bee spoken; Now imagine what her Majesty and her grave counsell would doe in England, if such proceedings should bee used, by the Clergy against them.

No doubt (quoth I) but that such unquiet Spirits should bee punished in our Realme. And so I said of late to their most reverend and worthy Prelate and Primate the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, with whom it was my luck to come acquainted in London, whither hee was come by his Kings appointment (as hee said) to treat certain affaires with our Queene and Counsell. And talking with him of this disorder of his ministry, hee confessed the same with much griefe of mind, and told mee, that hee had preached thereof before the King himselfe, detesting

and

Schollar.]

Sir Patrick  
Adamson  
Archbishop  
of Saint An-  
drewes.

and accusing diuers heads thereof, for which cause, hee was become very odious to them and other of their faction, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But hee said, that as hee had given the reasons of his doings unto our *Quesene*: so meaneth hee shortly to doe the same unto *Monseigneur Beza*, and to the whole Church of *Geneua*, by sending thither the Articles of his and their doings, Protesting unto mee that the proceedings and attempts of those factious and corrupt men, was most scandalous, seditious and perillous, both to the Kings person, and to the Realme: being sufficient indeed, to alienate wholly the yong Prince from all affection to our religion, when hee shall see the chiefe Professours thereof, to behave themselves so undutifully towards him.

Gentleman,

Treasons  
plotted a-  
gainst the  
King of  
Scots.

That is the thing which these men, his competitors, most desire (quoth the Gentleman) hoping thereby, to procure him most evill will and danger, both at home and from *England*. For which cause also, they have practized so many plots and treacheries with his owne subjects against him: hoping by that meanes, to bring the one in distrust and hatred of the other, and consequently the King in danger of destruction by his owne. And in this machination, they have behaved themselves so dextrously, so covertly used the mannage and contriving hereof, and so cunningly conveyed the execution of many things: as it might, indeed, seeme apparent unto the yong King, that the whole plot of treasons against his Realme and Person, doth come from *England*, thereby to drive him into jealousie of our state, and our state of him: and all this for their owne profit.

Neither is this any new device of my Lord of *Essex*, to draw men for his owne gaine, into danger and hatred with the state, under other prettiness.

For

For I could tell you divers stories and stratagemes of his cunning in this kind, and the one farre different from the other in device: but yet all to one end. I have a friend yet living, that was towards the old Earle of *Arundell*, in good credit, and by that meanes had occasion to deal with the late Duke of *Norfolke* in his chiefest affaires before his troubles. This man is wont to report strange things from the Dukes owne mouth, of my Lord of *Leicester*s most treacherous dealing towards him, for gaining of his blood, as after appeared: albeit the Duke when hee reported the same, mistrusted not so much my Lords malice therein. But the summe of all, is this in effect: that *Leicester* having a secret desire, to pull downe the said Duke, to the end that hee might have no man above himselfe, to hinder him in that which hee most desireth: by a thousand cunning devises drew in the Duke to the cogitation of that marriage with the Queene of *Scotland*, which after ward was the cause or occasion of his ruine. And hee behaved himselfe so dexterously in this drift, by setting on the Duke on the one side, and intrapping him on the other: as *Judas* himselfe never played his part more cunningly, when hee supped with his Master, and set himselfe to weare, as hee dipped his spoone in the same dish, and durst before others aske, who should battye him? meaning that might to doe it himselfe, as hee shew'd soone after supper, when hee came as a Captaine with a band of conspirators, and with a courteous kisse delivered his person, into the hands of them, whom hee well knew to thirst after his blood.

Thus very like did the Earle of *Leicester* with the Duke of *Norfolke* for the same distraction, though in the parties betrayed there were great difference of innocency. Namely, at one time, when her Majesty was

*Leicester*s  
cunning de-  
vice for overs-  
throwing the  
Duke of  
*Norfolke*,

The impu-  
dency of  
*Judas*.



The speeches  
of *Leicester*  
to the Duke  
of *Norfolke*.

*Leicester*. coun-  
sellage of the  
Queene.

The Duke of  
*Norfolkes*.  
flying into  
*Norfolke*.

at *Basing* in *Hampshire*, and the Duke attended there to have audience, with great indifferency in himselfe, to follow or leave off his sute for marriage: (for that now he began to suspect, Her Majesty liked not greatly thereof:) my Lord of *Leicester* came to him, and counselled him in any case to persevere and not to relent, assuring him with many oaths and protestations, that Her Majesty must and should be brought to allow thereof, whether she would or no, and that himselfe would seale that purpose with his blood. Neither was it to be suffered that Her Majesty should have her will herein; with many other like speeches to this purpose, which the Duke repeated againe then presently to my said friend: with often laying his hand upon his bosome, and saying, I have here which assureth me sufficiently of the fidelity of my Lord of *Leicester*; meaning not only the foresaid speeches, but also divers letters which he had written to the Duke of that effect, as likewise he had done to some other person of more importance in the Realme; which matter coming after ward to light, he couened most notably her Majesty, by shewing her a reformed copie of the said Letter, for the letter it selfe.

But now how well hee performed his promise, in dealing with her Majesty for the Duke, or against the Duke in this matter, her Highnesse can best tell, and the event it selfe shewed. For the Duke being admitted soone after to Her Majesties speech, at an other place, and receiving a far other answer then hee had in hope conceived upon *Leicester*'s promises, retyred himselfe to *London*, where the same night following hee received letters both from *Leicester*, and Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, upon *Leicester*'s instigation (for they were at that time both friends and of a faction) that he should presently flee into *Norfolke* as hee did, which

was.

was the last and finall complement of all *Leicesters* former devices, whereby to plunge his friend over the eares in suspicion and disgrace, in such sort, as he should never be able to draw himselfe out of the ditch againe, as indeed he was not, but died in the same.

And herein you see also the same subtilie and Machivilian sleight, which I mentioned before, of driving men to attempt somewhat, whereby they may incurre danger, or remaine in perpetuall suspicion or disgrace. And this practice hee hath long used, and doth daily, against such as he hath will to destroy. As for example: What say you to the device he had of late, to intrap his well deserving friend, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, in the matter of *Hall* his Priest, whom hee would have had Sir *Christopher* to send away and hide, being touched and detected in the case of *Ardens*, thereby to have drawne in Sir *Christopher* himselfe, as Sir *Charles Candish* can well declare, if it please him, being accessory to this plot, for the overthrow of Sir *Christopher*. To which intent and most devilish drift pertained (I doubt not) if the matter were duly examined, the late interception of letters in *Paris* from one *Alfred* of *Lyons* then in *Rome*, to *Henry Vympston*, servant to Sir *Christopher*, in which letters, Sir *Christopher* is reported to be of such credit and speciall favour in *Rome*, as if hee were the greatest Papist in *England*.

What meaneth also these pernicious late dealings against the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, a man of the most ancient and worthiest Nobility of our Realme? what meane the practises with his nearest both in bed and blood against him? what meane these most false and slanderous rumours cast abroad of life of his disloyall demeanours towards her Majesty and his country, with the great prisoner committed to his charge? Is all this to any other end, but only to drive him to some

Leicesters  
Machivilian  
Sleights

Leicesters de-  
vices for the  
overthrow of  
Sir Christo-  
pher Hatton

Leicesters de-  
vices against  
the Earle of  
Shrewsbury

Leiceſters  
contempt of  
the ancient  
Nobility of  
England.

New men  
moſt con-  
temptuous.

Duke Dud.  
lies jeſt at  
the Earle of  
Arundel.

impatience, and thereby to commit or ſay ſomething which may open the gate unto his ruine? Divers other things could I requite of his behaviour towards other noble men of the Realme, who live abroad in their countries much injured and malcontented by his inſolencie: albeit in reſpect of his preſent power they dare not complaine. And ſurely it is ſtrange to ſee how little account hee maketh of all the ancient Nobility of our Realme: how hee contemneth, derideth and deſpiseſt them: which is the faſhion of all ſuch as mean to uſurpe, to the end they may have none who ſhall not acknowledge their firſt beginning and advancement from themſelves.

Not only Uſurpers (quoth the Lawyer) but all others who riſe and mount aloft from baſe lynage, be ordinarily moſt contemptuous, contumelious, & inſolent againſt others of more antiquity. And this was evident in this mans father, who being a Bucke of the firſt head (as you know) was intolerable in contempt of others: as appeareth by thoſe whom hee trode downe of the Nobility in his time: as alſo by his ordinary jeſts againſt the Duke of Somerſet and others. But among other times, ſitting one day at his owne table (as a Counſellor told me that was preſent) hee tooke occaſion to talke of the Earle of Arundel whom he then had not only removed from the Counſell, but alſo put into the Tower of London, being (as is well knowne) the firſt and chiefeſt Earle of the Realme. And for that the ſaid Earle ſhewed himſelfe ſomewhat ſad and afflicted with his preſent ſtate (as I marvel not, ſeeing himſelfe in priſon, and within the compaſſe of ſo fierce a Beares pawes) it pleaſed this goodly Duke to vaunt upon this Earles miſery, at his owne table (as I have ſaid) and asked the noble men and Gentlemen there preſent, what Creſt or Cognizance my Lord of Arundel

Arundel did give? and when every one answered, that he gave the white Horse: I thought so (quoth the Duke) and not without great cause: for as the white Paulfrey when he standeth in the stable, and is well provended, is proud and fierce, and ready to leape upon every other horse back, still nrying and praucing, and crouching all that stand about him: but when he is once out of his troat stable, and deprived a little of his ease and far feeding, every boy may ride and master him at his pleasure: so is it (quoth he) with my Lord of Arundel: Whereat many marvelled that were present, to heare so insolent speech passe from a man of judgement, against a Peer of the Realme, cast into calamity.

But you would more have marvelled (quoth the Gentleman) if you had seen that, which I did afterward, which was the most base and abject behaviour of the same Duke, to the same Earle of Arundel at Cambridge, as upon the way towards London, when this Earle was sent to apprehend and bring him up, as prisoner. If I should tell you how he fell downe on his knees, how he wept, how he besought the said Earle to be a good lord unto him, whom a little before he had so much contemned and reproached: yea would have said, that himselfe might as well be compared to this his white Paulfrey, as the other. Albeit in this I will excuse neither of them both, neither almost any other of these great men, who are so proud and insolent in their prosperous fortune, as they are easily led to contemne any man, albeit themselves be most contemptible of all others, whensoever their fortune beginneth to change: and so will my Lord of Leicester be also, no doubt at that day, though now in his wealth he triumph over all, and carcerne whom, as how many hee offend and injure.

Gentleman

The most  
abject beha-  
viour of duke  
Dudley in  
adverse for-  
tune.

Sir



*Scholler.**Leicesters*  
base behavi-  
our in adver-  
sity.*Leicesters de-*  
ceiving of Sir  
*Christopher*  
*Hatton.**A pretty shift*  
of my Lord  
of *Leicester.*

Sir therein I beleeve you (quoth I) for wee have had sufficient tryall already of any Lords fortitude in adversity. His base and abiect behaviour in his last disgrace about his marriage, well declared what he would doe, in a matter of more importance. His sawning and flattering of them, whom he hated most: his servile speeches, his feigned and dissembled teares, are all very well knowne: Then Sir *Christopher Hatton*, must needs be enforced, to receive at his hands the honourable and great office of Chamberlainship of *Chester*, for that he would by any means resign the same unto him, whether he would or no: and made him provide (not without his charge) to receive the same, though his Lordship never meant it, as after well appeared. For that the present pange being past, it liked my Lord to fulfill the Italian Proverbe, of such as in dangers make vowes to Saints: *Se compara il pericolo, gabbato il Santo*, the danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.

Then, and in that necessity, no men of the Realme were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlaine deceased, and the good Lord Treasurer yet living: to whom, at a certaine time, hee wrote a letter, in all fraud and base dissimulation, and caused the same to bee delivered with great cunning in the sight of Her Majesty; and yet so, as to shew a purpose that it should not be seen: to the end, her Highnesse might the rather take occasion to call for the same and reade it, as she did. For *Mistris Frances Howard* (to whom the stratagem was committed) playing her part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, neere the doore of the with-drawing Chamber, hee then coming from Her Majesty. And to draw the eye and attention of her Highnesse the more unto it, shee let fall the paper, before it touched the Treasurers hand, and

and by that occasion brought her Majesty to call for the same: Which after she had read and considered the stile, together with the metall and constitution of him that wrote it, and to whom it was sent: Her Highness could not but breake forth in laughter, with demonstration of such absurd and abiect dissimulation: saying unto my Lord Treasurer there present: my Lord beleve him not, for if hee had you in like case hee would play the Beare with you, though at this present hee fawne upon you never so fast.

But now, Sir, I pray you goe forward in your speech of Scotland, for there, I remember you left off, when by occasion wee fell into these digressions.

Well then (quoth the Gentleman) to returne againe to Scotland (as you move), from whence wee have digressed: most certaine and evident it is to all the world, that all the broyles, troubles, and dangers procured to the Prince in that countrey, as also the vexations of them, who any way are thought to favour that title in our owne Realme, doe proceed from the drift and complot of these conspirators. Which besides the great dangers mentioned before, both domesticall and forraine, temporall, and of religion, must needs inferre great jeopardy also to Her Majesties person and present reigne, that now governeth, through the hope and heat of the aspirers ambition, inflamed and increased so much the more, by the nearness of their desired pray.

For as souldiers entred into hope of a rich and well furnished Cite, are more fierce and furious, when they have gotten and beaten downe the Bul-workes round about: and as the greedy Burglarer that hath pearced and broken downe many wals to come to a treasure, is lesse patient of stay, stop and delay, when hee commeth in sight of that which he desireth, or

Her Majesty's speech of Leicester to the Treasurer.

Gentleman.

The danger of her Majesty, by oppression of the favourers of the Scottish title.

A Similitude.

perceiveth only some partition of wane shot on the like, betwixt his fingers and the cofers or money bags: to these men, when they shall see the succession of Scotland extinguished, together with all friends and favourers thereof, (which now are to Her Majesty as Bulwarks and Walles, and great obstacles to the aspirors) and when they shall see only Her Majesties life and person, to stand betwixt them and their fiery desires, (for they make little account of all other Competitours by King *Henries* line:) no doubt, but it will be to them a great pricke and spurre, to dispatch Her Maisty also: the nature of both Earles being well considered, whereof the one killed his own wife (as hath beene shewed before) onely upon a little vaine hope of marriage with a Queene, and the other being so farre blinded and borne away, with the same furious fume, and most impotent itching humour of ambition: as his owne mother, when she was alive, seemed greatly to feare his fingers, if once the matter should come so neere, as her life had only stood in his way. For which cause, the good old Countesse, was wont to pray God (as I have heard divers say) that she might die before Her Majesty, (which happily was granted unto her) to the end that by standing in her sonnes way (who shee saw to her grieve, furiously bent to weare a Crowne :) their might not some dangerous extremity grow to her, by that nearnesse: And if his owne mother feared this mischance, what may her Majesty doubt, at his, and his companions hands, when she only shall be the obstacle of all their unbridled and impatient desires?

Earle of Leicester.

Earle of Huntington.

The old Countesse of Huntingtons speech of her sonne.

Lawyer.  
Nearnesse in competitors doth incite them to adventure.

Clearer it is (quoth the Lawyer) that the nearnesse of aspirours to the Crowne, endangereth greatly the present possessors, as you have well proved by reason, and I could shew by divers examples, if it were need. For  
when

when *Henry Bullough*, Duke of *Lawrence* law; not only *Richard* the second to be without issue, but also *Roger Mortimer*, Earle of *March*, that should have succeeded in the Crowne, to bee slaine in *Ireland*: though before (as is thought) hee meant not to usurpe, yet seeing the possibility and neere cut that he had: was invited therewith to lay hands of his Soveraignes blood and dignity, as he did. The like is thought of *Richard*, Duke of *Glocester* that he never meant the murder of his nephewes, untill he saw their father dead, and themselves in his owne hands: his brother also Duke of *Clarence* dispatched, and his only sonne and heire Earle of *Warwick*, within his towne power.

Wherefore, seeing it hath not pleased Almighty God, for causes to himselfe best knowne, to leave unto this noble Realme, any issue by her most excellent Majesty, it hath bene a point of great wisdom in mine opinion, and of great safety to Her Highnesse person, state, and dignity, to preserve hitherto, the line of the next Inheritors by the house of *Scotland*, (I meane both the mother and the son) whose deaths hath bene so diligently sought, by the other competitors, and had bene long ere this achieved, if her Majesties owne wisdom and Royall clemency (as is thought) had not placed speciall eye upon the conservation thereof, from time to time. Which princely providence, so long as it shall endure, will needs be a great safety and fortresse to Her Majesty, not onely against the claimes, ayds, or annoyances of forraigne Princes, who will not be so forward to advance strange titles, while so manifest heires remaine at home, nor yet so willing (in respect of policy) to helpe that line to possession of the whole land: but also against practices of domesticall aspirours (as you have shewed) in whose affairs no doubt but those two branches of

*Henry Buling*,  
brooke after  
King *Henry*  
the fourth.

*Richard* duke  
of *Glocester*  
after King  
*Richard* the  
third.

The great  
wisdom of  
her Majesty  
in conserving  
the next  
heires of  
*Scotland*.

The great  
wisdom of  
her Majesty  
in conserving  
the next  
heires of  
*Scotland*.



*Scotland* are great blocks, as also speciall Bulwarkes to her Majesties life and person: seeing (as you say) these copartners make so little account of all the other of that line, who should ensue by order of succession.

The King of  
*Scotland* de-  
struction of  
more impor-  
tance to the  
conspirators,  
then his mo-  
thers.

Marry yet of the two, I thinke the youth of *Scotland* be of much more importance for their purpose; to be made away, both for that he may have due, and is like in time to be of more ability, for defence of his owne inheritance: as also for that hee being once dispatched, his mother should soone ensue, by one sleight or other, which they would devise unwitting to Her Majesty: albeit, I must needs confesse, that her Highnesse hath used most singular prudence for prevention thereof: in placing her restraint with so noble, strong, and worthy a Peere of our Realme, as the Earle of *Shrewsbury* is: whose fidelity and constancy being nothing pliable to the others faction, giveth them little contentation. And for that cause, the world seeth how many sundry and divers devices they have used; and doe use daily to slander and disgrace him, and thereby to pull from him his charge committed.

The Earle of  
*Salisbury* dis-  
graced by the  
conspirators.

Gentleman.

To this the Gentleman answered nothing at all, but stood still musing with himselfe, as though he had conceived some deepe matter in his head: and after a little pause he began to say as followeth.

The vigilant  
eye that her  
Majesties an-  
cestors had to  
the colateral  
line.

I cannot truly but much marvelle, when I doe compare some things of this time and government, with the doings of former Princes, progenitors to Her Majesty. Namely of *Henry* the seventh, and *Henry* the eight: who had so vigilant an eye to the lateral line of King *Edward* the fourth by his brother of *Gloucester*, as they thought it necessary, not only to prevent all evident dangers that might ensue that way, but even the possibilities of all perill: as may well appeare by the execution of *Edward* Earle of *Warwick* before named,

Sonne.

Sonne and here to the said Duke of *Clarence*, and to *Margaret* his Sister Countesse of *Salisbury*, with the Lord *Henry Montague* her Sonne, by whose Daughter the Earle of *Huntington* now claimeth. All which were executed for avoiding of inconveniences, and that at such times, when no imminent danger could bee much doubted, by that Line, especially by the latter. And yet now when one of the same House and Line, of more ability and ambition, then ever any of his Ancestours were, maketh open title and claime to the Crowne, with plots, packs, and preparations to most manifest usurpation, against all order, all law, and all rightfull succession: and against a speciall statute provided in that behalfe: yet is hee permitted, borne out, favored, and friended therein: and no man so hardy, as in defence of her Majestie and Realme, to controule him for the same.

It may be, that her Majesty is brought into the same opinion of my Lord of *Huntington*: fidelity, as *Julius Caesar* was of *Marcus Brutus*, his dearest obliged friend: of whose ambitious practises, and aspiring, when *Caesar* was advertised by his carefull friends: hee answered, that hee well knew *Brutus* to bee ambitious, but I am sure (quoth hee) that my *Brutus* will never attempt any thing for the Empire, while *Caesar* liveth: and after my death, let him shift for the same among others, as hee can. But what ensued? Surely I am loth to tell the event, for ominations sake, but yet all the World knoweth, that ere many moneths passed, this most Noble and Clement Emperour, was pittifully murdered by the same *Brutus* and his Partners, in the publique Senate, when least of all hee expected such treason. So dangerous a thing it is, to bee secure in a matter of so great sequel, or to trust them with a mans life, who may pretend

Persons executed of the House of *Clarence*.

The example of *Julius Caesar* destruction.

preferment of interest, by his death.  
Wherefore, would God her Majesty in this case, might bee induced, to have such due care and regard of her owne estate and Royall person, as the weighty moment of the matter requireth: which containeth the blisse and calamity of so Noble and worthy a Kingdome, as this is.

Too much  
confidence  
very perilous  
in a Prince.

I know right well, that most excellent natures are alwayes furthest off from diffidence in such people, as proves love, and are most bounden by duty: and so it is evident in her Majesty. But yet surely, this confidence so commendable in other men, is scarce allowable often times in the person of a Prince: for that it goeth accompanied with so great perill, as is inevitable to him that will not suspect principally when dangers are foretold or presaged, (as commonly by Gods appointment they are, for the speciall hand hee holdeth over Princes affaires,) or when there is probable conjecture, or just surmise of the same.

Wee know that the forenamed Emperour *Cæsar*, had not onely the warning given him of the inclination and intent of *Brutus* to usurpation, but even the very day when hee was going towards the place of his appointed destiny, there was given up into his hands a detection of the whole treason, with request to read the same presently, which hee upon confidence omitted to doe. Wee read also of *Alexander* the great, how hee was not onely forbidden by a learned man, to enter into *Babylon* (whether hee was then going) for that there was treason meant against him, in the place, but also that hee was foretold of *Antipater* mischievous meaning against him, in particular. But the yong Prince having so well deserved of *Antipater* could not bee brought to mistrust the

The example  
of *Alexander*  
the great,  
how he was  
foretold his  
danger.

the man that was sent unto him : and by that meanes was poisoned in a backst, by three Sonnes of Antipater, which were of most credit and confidence in the Kings Chamber.

Here, truly, my heart did somewhat tremble with feare, horror, and detestation of such events. And I said unto the Gentleman. I beseech you, Sir, to talke no more of these matters, for I cannot well abide to heare them named : hoping in the Lord, that there is no cause, nor ever shall bee, to doubt the like in England : specially from these men who are so much bounden to her Majesty, and so forward in seeking out and pursuing all such, as may bee thought to be dangerous to her Majesties person, as by the sundry late executions wee have seene, and by the punishments every way of Papists, wee may perceive.

Truth it is (quoth the Gentleman,) that justice hath beene done upon divers of late, which contenteth mee greatly, for the terrour and restraint of others, of what sect or religion soever they be. And it is most necessary (doubtles) for the compressing of parties, that great vigilance bee used in that behalfe. But when I consider, that onely one kind of men are touched herein : and that all speech, regard, doubt, distrust, and watch, is of them alone, without restriction of eye upon any other mens doings or designements : when I see the double diligence, and vehemency of certaine instruments, which I like not, bent wholly to rayse wonder and admiration of the people, feare, terror, and attention, to the doings, sayings, and meanings of one part or faction alone, and of that namely and onely, which these conspirators esteeme for most dangerous and opposite to themselves : I am (believe mee) often tempted to suspect fraud and false

Scholler.

Late executions.

Gentleman.

Fraud to bee feared in pursuing one part or faction onely.



The compa-  
rison of  
Wolves and  
Rebels.

Richard  
Duke of  
York.

Duke Dudley.

A good rule  
of policy.

false mischief: and that these misdeeds, as Wolves by nature in other Countries are wont to doe: Which going together in great numbers to assaile a flock of sheepe by night, doe set some one or two of their company upon the wind side of the fold a farre off, who partly by their sent and other brateling which of purpose they make, may draw the dogges and shepherds to pursue them alone, whiles the other doe enter and slay the whole flock. Or as rebels that meaning to surpris a Towne, to turne away the Inhabitants from consideration of the danger, and from defence of that place, where they intend to enter: doe set on fire some other parts of the Towne further off, and doe sound a false alarme at some gate, where is meant least danger.

Which art, was used cunningly by Richard Duke of York in the time of King Henry the sixth, when hee to cover his owne intent brought all the Realme in doubt of the doings of Edward Duke of Somerset, his enemy. But John of Northumberland, Father to my Lord of Leicester, used the same art much more skilfully, when hee put all England in a maze and amising of the Protector and of his friends: as though nothing could bee safe about the yong King, untill they were suppressed: and consequently, all brought into his owne authority, without obstacle. I speake not this, to excuse Papists, or to wish them any way spared wherein they offend: but onely to signifye that in a Countrey, where so potent factions bee, it is not safe, to suffer the one to make it selfe so puissant by pursuit of the other: as afterwards the Prince must remaine at the devotion of the stronger: but rather as in a body molested and troubled with contrary humours, if all cannot bee purged, the best Physick is, without all doubt, to reduce and hold them at such an equality:

as destruction may not bee feared of the predomi-  
nant.

To this said the Lawyer laughing, yea marry Sir.  
I would to God, your opinion might prevaile in this  
matter: for then should wee bee in other tearmes,  
then now wee are. I was not long since, in com-  
pany of a certaine honourable Lady of the Court,  
who, after some speech passed by Gentlemen that  
were present, of some apprehended, and some excu-  
ted, and such like affaires brake into a great complaint  
of the present time, and therewith (I assure you) mo-  
ved all the hearers to griefe (as women you know are  
potent in stirring of affections,) and caused them all  
to wish that her Majesty had bene nigh to have heard  
her words.

I doe well remember (quoth shee) the first dozen  
years of her highnesse raigne, how happy, pleasant,  
and quiet they were. with all manner of comfort and  
consolation. There was no mention then of factions  
in religion, neither was any man much noted or re-  
spected for that cause: so otherwise his conversation  
were civill and courteous. No suspicion of treason,  
no talk of bloodshed, no complaint of troubles; mi-  
series or vexations. All was peace, all was love, all  
was joy, all was delight. Her Majesty (I am sure)  
tooke more recreation at that time, in one day, then she  
doth now in a whole week: and was that good  
her highnesse, enjoyed more contentation in a week,  
then wee can now in divers years. For now, there  
are so many insinuations, every where, for this thing  
and for that: as wee cannot tell whom to trust. So  
many melancholique in the Court, that seeme male-  
contented: for many complaining or suing for their  
friends that are in trouble: other slip over the Sea, or  
rescue themselves upon the Indian: so many tales  
of blood.

about 1700  
about 1700  
about 1700  
about 1700

The speech  
of a certaine  
Lady of the  
Court,

about 1700  
about 1700  
about 1700

about 1700  
about 1700  
about 1700  
about 1700

brought us of this or that danger, or this than that  
 feared, of that man sent for up, and such like the  
 pleasant and univ'ersal fruit: as wee can never almost  
 bee merry one whole day together.

Wherefore (quoth this Lady) wee that are of her  
 Majesties private and special service, and doe not onely  
 see these things in our selves, but much more in the  
 grise of her most excellent Majesty, whom wee see  
 daily molested herewith (being one of the best na-  
 tures, I am sure, that ever noble Princeesse was endued  
 with all: I wee cannot but mone, to behold contentions  
 advanced to farre forth as they are: and wee could  
 wish most hartly that, for the time to come, these  
 matters might passe with such peace, friendship and  
 tranquillity, as they doe in other Countries: where  
 difference in religion breaketh not the band of  
 good fellowship or fidelity. And with this in a  
 smiling manner, shee brake off: asking pardon of the  
 company, as shee had spoken her opinion; over boldly,  
 like a woman.

More mode-  
 ration wished  
 in matters of  
 faction.

Con-  
 sideration  
 of the  
 Court.

The speech  
 of a Court-  
 ier.

To whom, answered a Courtier, that sat next  
 her: Madame, your Ladiship hath said nothing in this  
 behalf, that is not daily debated among us, in our  
 Common speech in Court, as you know. Your de-  
 sire also hercin is a publique desire, if it might bee  
 brought to passe: for there is no man so simple, that  
 seeth not, how perilous these contentions and devi-  
 sions among us, may bee in the end. And I have  
 heard divers Gentlemen, that bee learned, discourse at  
 large upon this argument: alleging old examples of  
 the *Athenians*, *Lacedaemonians*, *Carthaginians*, and Ro-

The perill of  
 divisions and  
 factions in a  
 Common-  
 wealth.

mans, who received notable damages, and destruc-  
 tions also, in the end, by their divisions and factions  
 among themselves: and specially from them of their  
 ruine Cities and Countreys, who upon factions lived  
 abroad.

streit with Fortinbras, and thereby were shewes in  
 first-hand to carry home the flame of Warre, upon  
 their Country.

The like, they also shewes by the long experience  
 of all the great Cities and States of Italy, which by  
 their factions and dissensions, were in continuall  
 boile, bloodshed and misery. Whereof our owne  
 Countrey hath tasted also her part, by the odious con-  
 tention betwixt the Houses of Lancaster and York,  
 wherein it is dangerous to consider, what trouble  
 slow men oftentimes, depending out of the Realme,  
 were able to worke, by the part of their faction re-  
 maining at home (which commonly excheim re-  
 warded them that are absent) and by the weakness of  
 German Princes, to receive shewes, and comfort  
 such, as are discontented in another state to the end  
 that by their means, they might hold an ore in their  
 neighbours bosome. Which, Princes that are rich bo-  
 die, doe always, shew all other things most covet  
 and desire to bee.

This was that Courtiers speech and reason, where-  
 by I perceived, that as well among them in Court, as  
 among us in the Realme and Countrey abroad, the  
 picture of covetousness and dangerous feare of this  
 intestine dissension, is placed; and consequently  
 most English hearts inclined to wish the remedy or  
 prevention thereof, by some reasonable motion,  
 or relation among our selves. For that the pro-  
 ceedings of these differences, to extremity, cannot  
 but draw many tumults and multiplications bring ma-  
 ced finally to rage, fury and most deadly de-  
 struction on the one side, and any sweet qualifi-  
 cation shall collection among us, were impossible:  
 there is no doubt, but that if these would settle in  
 our

Continued

Examples of  
 Reformation  
 in matters of  
 Religion.

Germany.

The danger  
 of dissension  
 in our  
 Realme.



our Realme, with more quietnes, safety and publique  
weake of the same; then it is like it will not longe  
and men would easily bee brought, that have English  
bowels, to joyne in the preservation of their Countrey,  
from ruine, bloudshed and foraine oppression, which  
desperation of factions is wont to procure.

*Gentleman.*

Examples of  
toleration  
in matters of  
Religion.

*Germany.*

I am of your opinion: (saith the Gentleman) In  
that, for I have seene the experience thereof; and all  
the World beholdeth the same this day, in all the  
Countreys of *Germany*, *Poland*, *Dainland*, and *Hungary*;  
where a little bearing of the one with the other, hath  
wrought them much ease, and continued them a peace,  
whereof all *Europe* besides, hath admiration and envy.  
The last dozen yeeres also of her Majesties reigne,  
whereof your Lady of the Court discoursed before,  
can well bee a witness of the same. Wherein the  
commiseration and lenity that was used towards  
those of the weaker sort, with a certaine sweet di-  
ligence for their gaining, by good means, was the  
cause of much peace, contentation, and other benefits  
to the whole body.

The breach  
and re-union  
againe in  
*France*.

Wee see in *France*, that by over much pressing of  
one part onely, a fire was kindled not many yeeres  
since, like to have consumed and destroyed the whole;  
had not a necessary mollification bene thought  
upon, by the wisest of that Kings Countells, full con-  
trary to the will and inclination of some great per-  
sonages, who meant perhaps to have gained more  
by the other. And since that time, wee see what  
peace, wealth and re-union, hath ensued in that Coun-  
treys, that was so broken, divided and wasted be-  
fore. And all this, by yeelding a little in that thing,  
which no force can matter, but exasperate rather, and  
make worse: I meane the conscience and judgement  
of men in matters of Religion.

The

The like also I could name you in *Flanders*, where  
 after all these broyles and miseries, of so many yeares  
 warres (caused principally by too much freyning in  
 such affaires at the beginning) albeit the King be at yet  
 so strict laced, in yielding to publick liberty, and free  
 exercise on both parts: yet is he descended to this st-  
 length (and that upon force of reason) to abstain from  
 the pursue and search of mens consciences; not onely  
 in the towncs, which upon composition hee receiveth,  
 but also where hee hath recovered by force, as in *Fran-  
 ce*, and other places: where I am informed that no  
 man is searched, demanded, or molested for his opi-  
 on or conscience, nor any set of Papistry or contrary  
 religion required at their hands: but are permitted to  
 live quietly to God and themselves; at home in their  
 owne houses: so they performe otherwise, their o-  
 ward obedience and duties to their Prince and coun-  
 trey. Which only qualification, tolerance, and mode-  
 ration in our Realme (if I be not deceived, with any  
 more that be of my opinion) would content all divi-  
 sions, factions, and parties amongst us; for their con-  
 nuance in peace: be they Papists, Puritans, Familians,  
 or of whatsoever nice difference or sedition besides,  
 and would be sufficient to secure all parties: within a  
 temperate obedience to the Magistrate and govern-  
 ment; for conservation of their country which were  
 of no small importance to the contentation of Her  
 Majesty, and weale publique of the whole kingdom.

But what should I talke of this thing, which is so  
 contrary to the desires and designement of our puissant  
 Comploters? how should I give the same to our  
 persuasions to Capaine *Arles*, and his crew, that  
 quoness and order were better then handihoods?  
 Is it possible this our Aspires will ever permit any  
 such thing, rather, to matter, than to take in our hand.

THE  
 CON-  
 SPIRACY

Moderation  
 impugn'd by  
 the conspira-  
 cion



say against him, at length, after so many years of his  
sole accusing and pursuing of others. I know and am  
very well assured, that no one act which Her Majesty  
hath done since her coming to the Crowne, (as she  
hath done right many more highly to be commended)  
nor any that highly Her Majesty may doe hereafter, can  
be of more vantage to her selfe, and to the Realme, or  
more grateful unto her faithfull and zealous subjects  
then this noble act of iustice would be, for triall of  
this man doth it towards his country.

I say it would be profitable to Her Maiestie, and to  
the Realme, not only in respect of the many dangers  
before mentioned, but by to be avoyded, which are  
like to ensue most certainly, if his case be still per-  
mitted; but also for that Her Majesty shall by this de-  
liver Her selfe from that generall grudge and griefe of  
mind, with great dislike, which many subjects, other-  
wise most faithfull, have conceived against the exces-  
sive favour shewed to this man in many years, with-  
out desert or reason. Which favour, be having used to  
the hurt, annoyances and oppression both of infinit fe-  
verall persons, and the whole Common-wealth (as hath  
been said) the grudge and resentment thereof, doth  
redound commonly in such cases, not only upon the  
person delinquent alone, but also upon the Sovereigne,  
by whose favour and authority hee offendeth such iniu-  
ries, though never so much against the others intent,  
will, desire, or meaning.

And heretofore we have examples of such Princes in  
all ages and countries, whose excessive favour to  
some wicked subjects that abused the same, hath become  
the cause of great danger and mine: the finnes of the  
Favourite being rewarded, and rewarded upon the Fa-  
vourer. As in the Historie of the Grecians is declared  
by occasion of the plentiful minde of the wife and vi-  
cious

The death  
of King  
Edward  
the first  
in the  
year 1272.

The death  
of King  
Edward  
the first  
in the  
year 1272.

The death  
of King  
Edward  
the first  
in the  
year 1272.



The death  
of King  
*Philip of Ma-*  
*cedonie*, and  
cause thereof.

Glorious Prince *Philip of Macedonie*; who albeit that he were well assured to have given no offence of himselfe to any of his subjects, and consequently feared nothing, but converted openly and confidently among them: yet, for that hee had favoured too much one Duke *Attalus*, a proud and insolent Courtier, and had borne him out in certaine of his wickednesse, or at least, not punished the same after it was detected and complayned upon: the parties grieved, accounting the crime more proper and hainous on the part of him, who by office should doe iustice, and protect other, then of the Perpetrator, who followeth but his owne passion and sensuality: set passe *Attalus*, and made their revenge upon the blood and life of the King himselfe, by one *Pausanias*, suborned for that purpose, in the marriage day of the Kings owne daughter.

*Pausanias.*

Great store of like examples might be repeated, out of the stories of other countries, nothing being more usuall or frequent amongall nations, then the afflictions of Realmes and kingdomes, and the overthrow of Princes and great Potentates themselves, by their too much affection towards some unworthy particular persons: a thing indeed to common and ordinary, as it may well seeme to be the specialest Rock of all other, whereat Kings and Princes do make their shipwracks.

For if wee looke into the states and Monarchies of all Christendome, and consider the ruines that have bin of any Princes or Ruler within the same: wee shall find this point to have bene a great and principall part of the cause thereof: and in our owne state and country, the matter is too too evident. For whereas, since the conquest wee number principally, three iust and lawfull Kings, to have come to confusion by alienation of their subjects: that is, *Edward* the second, *Richard* the second, and *Henry* the first, this only point of too much

Kings of  
England o-  
verthrowne  
by too much  
favouring of  
some particu-  
lars men.

much favour towards wicked persons, was the chiefest cause of destruction in all three. As in the first, the excessive favour towards *Peter Gaveston* and two of the *Spencers*. In the second, the like extraordinary, and indiscreet affection towards *Robert Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and Marquess of *Dubline*, and *Thomas Mowbray*, two most turbulent and wicked men, that set the King against his owne Vncles and the Nobility.

K. Edward 2.

K. Richard 2.

In the third (being a simple and holy man) albeit, no great exorbitant affection was scene towards any, yet his wife, Queene *Margaret* too much favour and credit (by him not controled) towards the Marques of *Suffolke*, that after was made Duke, by whose instinct and wicked counsell, she made away first the noble Duke of *Gloucester*, and afterward committed other things in great prejudice of the Realme, and suffered the said most impious & sinfull Duke, to range & make havocke of all sort of subjects at his pleasure (much after the fashion of the Earle of *Leicester* now, though yet not in so high and extreme a degree) (this I say was the principall and originall cause, both before God and man, (as *Polidore* well noteth) of all the calamity and extreme desolation, which after ensued both to the King, Queene, and their only child, with the utter extirpation of their family.

K. Henry 6.

Pol. lib. 23.  
bist. Angl.

And so likewise now to speak in our particular case, if there be any grudge or griefe at this day, any dislike, repining, complaint or marmure against Her Maiesties government, in the hearts of her true and faithfull subjects, who wish amendment of that which is amisse, and not the overthrow of that which is well: (as I trow it were no wildome to imagine there were none at all:) I dare avouch upon conscience, that either all, or the greatest part thereof, proceedeth from this man: who by the favour of her Maiesty so afflict-

blow

Z

eth

with her people, as never did before him, either *Glouster*, or *Spencer*, or *Cere*, or *Admbray*, or any other mischievous Tyrant, that abused most his Princes favour within our Realme of *England*. Whereby it is evident, how profitable a thing it should bee to the whole Realme, how honourable to Her Maiestie, and how gratefull to all her subjects, if this man at length might be called to his account.

*Lawyer.*

Sir (quoth the Lawyer) you allege great reason, and verily I am of opinion, that if her Maiestie knew but the tenth part of this, which you have here spoken, as also her good subjects desires and complaint in this behalfe: shee would well shew, that Her Highnesse feareth not to permit iniurie to passe upon *Leicester*, or any other within her Realme, for satisfaction of her people, whatsoever some men may thinke and report to the contrary, or howsoever other wise of her owne mild disposition, or good affection towards the person, shee have borne with him hitherto. For so wisdesse, that wise Princes can doe at times convenient, for peace and tranquillity, and publike weale: though contrary to their owne particular and peculiar inclination.

The punishment of *William Duke of Suffolke*.

As to goe no further, then to the last example named and alleged by your selfe before: though *Queene Margaret* the wife of King *Henry* the sixt, had favoured most unfortunately many yeares together, *William Duke of Suffolke* (as hath bene said) whereby he committed manifold out-rages, and afflicted the Realme by sundry meanes: yet shee being a woman of great prudence, when she saw the whole Communalty demand justice upon him for his demerites, albeit shee liked and loved the man still: yet for satisfaction of the people, upon so generall a complaint she was content, first to commit him to prison, and afterward to banish him the Realme: but the providence of God would

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would not permit him so to escape for that he being  
incountred, and taken upon the sea in his passage, hee  
was beheaded in the ship, and so received some part  
of condigne punishment for his most wicked, loose,  
and licentious life.

And to looke no more examples in this case, and  
wee know into what favour and speciall grace Sir  
*Edmond Dudley* my Lord of *Leycesters* good Grand-  
father was crept, with King *Henry* the seventh, in the  
latter end of his raigne: and what intollerable wicked-  
nesse and mischief hee wrought against the whole  
Realme, and against infinite particular persons of the  
same, by the polings and oppressions which hee  
practised: whereby though the King received great  
temporall commodity at that time, (as her Majesty  
doth nothing at all, by the present extortions of his  
Nephew :) yet for justice sake, and for more com-  
passion towards his afflicted subjects, that complained  
grievously of this iniquity: that most vertuous and wise  
Prince King *Henry*, was content to put from him,  
this lewd instrument, and devilish suggestion of new  
exactions: whom his Sonne *Henry*, that insued in the  
Crown, caused presently before all other businesse,  
to bee called publicly to accompt, and for his de-  
serts to leese his head: So as where the interest of a  
whole Realme, or common cause of many, taketh  
place, the private favour of any one, cannot stay a  
wise and godly Prince, (such as all the World know-  
eth her Majesty to be,) from permitting justice to  
have her free passage.

Truly it should not (quoth the Gentleman) for  
to that end were Princes first elected, and upon that  
consideration doe subjects pay them both tribute and  
obedience: to bee defended by them from injuries and  
oppressions, and to see lawes executed, and justice

The punish-  
ment of *Ed-  
mond Dudley*.

Gentlemen.  
The causes  
why Princes  
were chosen,  
and doe re-  
ceive obe-  
dience.



exercised, upon and towards all men, with indifferency. And as for our particular case of my Lord of *Leycester*, I doe not see in right and equity, how her Majesty may deny this lawfull desire and petition of her people. For if her highnesse doe permit and command the lawes dayly to passe upon thieves and murderers, without exception, and that for one fact onely, as by experience wee see: how then can it bee denied in this man, who in both kinds hath committed more enormous acts, then may bee well recounted.

*Leycesters  
Thefts,*

As in the first, of theft, not onely by spoiling and oppressing almost infinite private men: but also whole Townes, Villages, Corporations, and Countries, by robbing the Realme with inordinate licences, by deceiving the Crowne, with racking, changing and imbezeling the lands, by abusing his Prince and sovereign in selling his favour both at home and abroad: with taking bribes for matter of justice, grace, request, supplication, or whatsoever sute els may depend upon the Court, or of the Princes authority: with setting at saile and making open market, of whatsoever her Majesty can give, doe, or procure, bee it spirituall or temporall. In which sort of traffique, hee committeth more theft, often times in one day: then all the way-keepers, cut-purses, cousiners, pirates, burglars, or other of that art in a whole yeare, within the Realme.

*Leycesters  
murders,*

And as for the second, which is murder, you have heard before somewhat said and proved: but yet nothing, to that which is thought to have bene in secret committed upon divers occasions at divers times, in sundry persons, of different calling in both sexes, by most variable meanes of killing, poisoning, charming, inchanting, conjuring and the like: according

to

to the diversity of men, places, oportunities and instruments for the same. By all which meanes, I thinke, hee hath more bloud lying upon his head at this day, crying vengeance against him at Gods hands and her Majesty, then ever had private man in our Countrey before, were hee never so wicked.

Whereto now, if wee add his other good behaviour, as his intollerable licentiousnesse in all filthy kind and manner of carnality, with all sort of Wives, Friends and Kinswomen: if wee add his injuries and dishonours, done hereby to infinite: if we add his treasons, treacheries and conspiracies about the Crowne; his disloyall behaviour and hatred against her Majesty, his ordinary lying, and common perjurings himselfe, in all matters for his gaine, both great and small; his rapes and most violent extorsions upon the poore; his abusing of the Parliament and other places of justice, with the Nobility and whole commonalty besides; if we add also his open injuries which hee offereth dayly to religion, and the Ministers thereof, by tithing them, and turning all to his owne gaine: together with his manifest and knowne tyranny practized towards all estates abroad, throughout all Shires of the Kingdome: his dispoyleing of both the Vniversities, and discouraging of infinite notable wits there, from seeking perfection of knowledge and learning, (which otherwise were like to become notable) especially in Gods word (which giveth life unto the soule,) by defrauding them of the price and reward propoed for their travaile in that kind, through his insatiable Simoniacall contracts: if I say, wee should lay together all these enormities before her Majesty, and thousands more in particular, which might and would bee gathered, if his day

A heape of  
*Leycesters*  
enormities  
that would  
bee ready at  
the day of his  
triall.

of triall were but in hope to bee granted: I doe not see in equity and reason, how her highnesse sitting in throne, and at the Royall Sterne, as shee doth, could deny her subjects this most lawfull request: considering, that every one of these crimes apart, requireth justice of his owne nature: and much more all together ought to obtaine the same, at the hands of any good and godly Magistrate in the World.

*Scholar.*  
Her Majesties  
tender heart  
towards the  
Realme.

No doubt (quoth I) but that these considerations, must needs weigh much with any zealous Prince, and much more with her most excellent Majestys whose tender heart towards her Realme and Subjects, is very well knowne of all men. It is not to bee thought also, but that her highnesse hath intelligence of divers of these matters alleaged, though not perhaps of all. But what would you have her Majesty to doe? perhaps the consultation of this affaire, is not, what were convenient, but what is expedient: not, what ought to bee done in justice, but what may bee done in safety. You have described my Lord before to bee a great man, strongly furnished and fortified for all events. What if it bee not secure to bark at the Beare that is so well britched? I speake unto you but that which I heare in *Cambridge* and other places, where I have passed: where every mans opinion is, that her Majesty standeth not in free choise to doe what herselfe best liketh in that case, at this day.

*Gentleman.*  
Loyallists desire,  
that men  
should think  
her Majesty  
to stand in  
fear of him.

I know (said the Gentleman) that *Loyallists* friends give it out every where, that her Majesty now, is their good Lords prisoner, and that shee either will or must bee directed by him for the time to come, except shee will doe worse: Which thing his Lordship is well contented should bee spread abroad, and beloved, for two causes: the one to hold the people thereby

thereby more in awe of himselfe, then of their Sovereigne: and secondly to draw Her Maiestie indeed by degrees to feare him. For considering with himselfe what he hath done: and that it is impossible in truth that ever Her Majestie should love him againe, or trust him after so many treacheries, as he well knoweth are cometo Her Highnesse understanding: hee thinketh that he hath no way of sure standing, but by terror, and opinion of his puissant greatnesse: whereby hee would hold Her Majestie, and the Realme in thralldome, as his father did in his time before him. And then for that he well remembreth the true saying, *Malus custos libertatis, metus*: he must provide shortly that those which feare him, be not able to hurt him: and consequently you know what must follow, by the example of King Edward, who feared Duke Dudley extremely, for that hee had cut off his two Uncles heads, and the Duke tooke order that hee should never live to revenge the same. For it is a settled rule of Machiavel, which the *Dudleys* doe observe: *That, where you have once done a great injury, there must you never forgive.*

But I will tell you (my friends), and I will tell you no untruth, for that I know what I speake herein, and am privie to the state of my Lord in this behalfe, and of mens opinions and affections to wards him within the Realme. Most certaine it is, that he is strong by the present favour of the Prince (as hath been showed before) in respect whereof, hee is admitted also as chiefe patron of the *Huntington* faction, though neither loved, nor greatly trusted of the same: but let her Majestie once turne her countenance aside from him in good earnest, and speake but the word only, that justice shall take place against him: and I will undertake with gaging of both my life and little lands that God hath given me, that without shame or trouble, or any danger

*Cicero in Officio.*

*A rule of Machiavel observed by the Dudleys.*

*Leicest. strong only by Her Majesties favour.*



An offer  
made for ta-  
king and ty-  
ing the Bear.

danger in the world, the Beare shall be taken to Her Majesties hand, and fast chained to a stake, with mouzel cord, collar and ring, and all other things necessary: so that Her Majesty shall baite him at her pleasure, without all danger of byting, breaking loose, or any other inconvenience whatsoever.

Leicester  
what he re-  
ceiveth from  
his ancestors.

For (Sirs) you must not thinke, that this man holdeth any thing abroad in the Realme but by violence, and that only upon her Majesties favour and countenance towards him. Hee hath not any thing of his owne, either from his ancestors, or of himselfe, to stay upon, in mens hearts or conceits: he hath not ancient nobility, as other of our Realme have, wherby mens affections are greatly moved. His father *John Dudley* was the first noble of his line: who raysted and made himselfe bigge by supplanting of other, and by setting debate among the Nobility: as also his Grandfather *Edmond*, a most wicked Promoter, and wretched Petifogger, enriched himself by other mens ruines: both of them condemned Traytors, though different in quality, the one being a Coufener, and the other a Tyrant, and both of their vices conioyned, collected, and comprised (with many more additions) in this man (or beast rather) which is *Robert*, the third of their kinne and kind. So that, from his ancestors, this Lord receiveth neither honour nor honesty, but only succession of treason and infamy.

And yet in himselfe hath hee much lesse of good, wherewith to procure himselfe love or credit among men, then these ancestors of his had; he being a man wholly abandoned of humane vertue, and devoted to wickednesse, which maketh men odible both to God and man. In his father (no doubt) there were to be scene many excellent good parts, if they had bene joyned with faith, honesty, moderation, and loyalty.

For

For all the world knoweth, that he was very wise, valiant, magnanimous, libcrall, and assured friendly where hee once promised : of all which vertues, my Lord his sonne, hath neither shew nor shadow, but only a certaine false representation of the first, being crafty and subtilc to deceive, and ingenious to wickedness. For as for valour, he hath as much as hath a mouse: his magnanimity, is base sordidity : his liberality, rapine : his friendship, plaine fraud, holding only for his gaine, and no otherwisc, though it were bound with a thousand oaths ; of which he maketh as great account, as hens doe of cackling, but only for his commodity ; using them specially, and in greatest number, when most hee meaneth to deceive. Namely, if he sweare solemnly by his *George*, or by the eternall God, then be sure it is a false lye : for these are observations in the Court, and sometimes in his owne lodging ; in like case his manner is to take up and sweare by the Bible, whereby a Gentleman of good account, and one that seemeth to follow him (as many doe that like him but a little) protested to me of his knowledge, that in a very short space, he observed him, wittingly and willingly, to be forsworne sixteene times.

This man therefore, so contemptible by his ancestors, so odible of himselfe, so plunged, overwhelmed, and defamed in all vice, so envied in the Court, so detested in the countrey, and not trusted of his own and dearest friends ; nay (which I am privie to) so misliked and hated of his owne servants about him, for his beastly life, nigardy, and Atheisme (being never seene yet, to say one private prayer within his Chamber in his life) as they desire nothing in this world so much as his ruine, and that they may be the first, to lay hands upon him for revenge. This man (I say) so broken both within and without, is it possible that Her

Ma-

The Comparison of  
Leicester with  
his father.

Leicester  
his father  
his mother  
his father

The weakness  
of Leicester  
if her Majesty  
turne but  
her countenance  
from him.

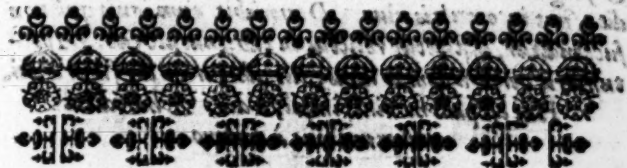
Majesty, and her wise Councell should feare? I can never beleve it; or if it be so, it is Gods permission without all cause, for punishment of our finnes: for that this man, if hee once perceive indeed that they feare him, will handle them accordingly, and play the Beare: indeed: Which inconvenience I hope they will have care to prevent, and so I leave it to God, and them; craving pardon of my Lord of *Leicester* for my boldnesse, if I have beene too plaine with him. And so I pray you let us goe to supper, for I see my servant expecting yonder at the gallerie doore, to call us downe.

*Lawyer.*

The end and  
departure  
from the  
Gallerie.

To that, said the Lawyer, I am content with all my heart; and I would it had beene sooner, for that I am afraid, lest any by chance have over-heard us here since night. For my owne part, I must say, that I have not beene at such a conference this seven yeares, nor meane to be hereafter, if I may escape well with this; whereof I am sure I shall dreame this fort-night, and think oftner of my Lord of *Leicester*, then ever I had intended: God amend him and me both. But if ever I heare at other hands of these matters hereafter, I shall surely be quak-britch, and thinke every bush a theefe. And with that, came up the Mistris of the houte, to fetch us downe to supper, and so all was hush, saving that at supper a Gentleman or two began againe to speake of my Lord, and that so conformable to some of our former speech (as indeed it is the common talke at tables every where) that the old Lawyer began to shrink and be appaled and to cast dry looks upon the Gentleman our friend, doubting least something had beene discovered of our conference. But indeed it was not so,

**FINIS.**



PIA ET VTILIS MEDITATIO;  
desumpta ex libro Iobi, CAP. 30.

**N**os scio a principio, ex quo positus est homo super  
terram, quod laus impiorum, brevis sit, ex gaudi-  
um hypocrita ad instar puncti. Si ascenderit usque  
ad cælum superbia eius, et caput eius nubes testi-  
gerit: quasi seruilinum in fine perdetur, et qui eum vide-  
rant, dicent, ubi est? velut somnium avolans non invenietur,  
transiet sicut visio nocturna. Oculi qui eum videbant, non  
videbit, neque ultra inquebitur eum locus suus. Filii eius at-  
terentur egestate, & manus illius reddent ei laborem suum.  
Ossa eius implebuntur vitis adolescentia eius, & cum ea  
in pulvere dormient. Panis eius in utero illius; vertetur  
in fel aspidum intrinsecus. Divitias quas devoravit, e-  
vomet, & de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput as-  
pidum surget, & occidet eum linguam vipera. Luctus  
fecit omnia, nec tamen consumatur. Iuxta multitudinem  
ad inventionem suarum, sic & sustinebit. Quoniam con-  
fringens nudabit pauperes: domum rapuit, & non adifi-  
cavit eam: nec est satius venter eius, & cum ba-  
buerit qua concupierit, possidere non poterit. Non reman-  
sit de cibo eius, & propterea non permanebit de bonis eius.  
Cum satiatus fuerit, ardebitur, astuabit, & omnis do-  
lor irruet super eum. Vinam impleatur venter eius, ut  
inimat in eum (Deus) iram furoris sui, & pluat super  
illum bellum suum. Fugiet arma ferrea, & irruet in ar-  
cum arcum. Gladius eandem & egrediens de vagina sua,



**Pia et utilis meditatio, &c.**

*& fulgurans in amaritudine sua: Omnes tenebrae abscon-  
ditæ sunt in oculis eius. Devorabit eum ignis qui non  
succenditur, affligetur reliquus in tabernaculo suo. Aper-  
tumeris germen domus illius, destruetur in die furoris dei.  
Hæc est pars hominis impij, à deo, & hereditas.*

verberamus eius à domino.

PIA ET VILIS MEDICATIO

detinutii ex libro Jobi. C. 47. 20.

*[The page contains dense handwritten text in French, which is mostly illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side. The text appears to be a historical document or manuscript.]*

bail-

His griefe.

His affli-  
ction.His damna-  
tion.

His posterity,

builded the same. His wombe is never satisfied, and yet when hee hath that which hee desired hee shall not bee able to possesse the same. There remaineth no part of his meat (for the poore:) and therefore here shall remaine nothing of his goods. When his belly is full, then shall hee begin to bee straitened, then shall hee sweate, and all kind of sorrow shall rush upon him. I would his belly were once full, that God might send forth upon him the rage of his fury, and raine upon him his warre. Hee shall flie away from iron weapons, and runne upon a bow of brasse. A drawne sword comming out of his skabard shall flash as lightning in his bitterness. All darknesse he hidden for him in secret: the fire that needeth no kindling shall deuoure him, and hee shall bee tormented alone in his

tabernacle. The off-spring of his house shall bee made open, and pulled downe, in the day of Gods fury. This is the portion of a wicked man from God, and this is the inheritance of his substance from the Lord.

**FINIS.**

# LEYCESTERS GHOST.

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*Bradley*  
*R. App*



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Printed in the yeare,  
1641.



LEYCESTERS  
GHOST



Printed in the year  
1641

(1)

LEYCESTERS GHOST.

**T**hat sometimes shined like the Orient Sunne,  
Though Fortunes subject, yet a puissant Lord,  
Am now an object to be gaz'd upon;  
An abject rather fit to bee deplor'd,  
Dejected now, that whilom was ador'd;  
Affected once, suspected since of many,  
Rejected now, respected scarce of any.

My Spirit hovering in the foggy ayre,  
Since that did passe the frozen stigid flood,  
Vnto great Britains Empire did repaire;  
Where of *Elinor* death I understand,  
And that the Heavens, carefull of *Englands* good,  
Raifd up a King, who crowned with loves peace  
Brought in new joyes, and made old griefes to cease.

Thus from the concave vault of starles night,  
Where neither Sunne nor Moone vouchsaf to shine,  
My wretched Ghost as length is come to light  
By Charters granted from the powers divine,  
Snake-eating envy, & doe not repine  
At *Honours* shadow, doe not bite the dead,  
My pride is past, my pompe from th'earth is fled.

My Princely birth, my high enobled state,  
My sometime dreadfull frownes, now none regard,  
My great good turnes, to many done of late,  
With grateful hearts now none or few reward,  
My Fame is plotted out, my *Honour* fear'd,  
My *Monuments* defalt, my *Reliques* torne,  
Yea vasailes doe my excellency skorne,

Ah silly peasants, as each *Grecian* boy,  
 Would brave stout *Hector* being dead and cold,  
 That whilome was the pillar of old *Troy*,  
 Whose presence living they durst scarce behold,  
 Now since you see mee dead you grow so bold,  
 As to controule my acts, whose lookes did daunt  
 The proudest Peeres that liv'd in *Troynovant*,

A time there was, when stately Beares could clime,  
 And in that time, was I a stately Beare;  
 Who clim'd so fast and in a little time,  
 That my high mounting other beasts did feare  
 My fortunes, by their downefals I did reare:

I now rejoyce, whilst others I made mourne;  
 And serv'd the time to make time serve my turne.

I was the of-spring of a Princely Syre  
 Hee too well knew by his clime-falling pride:  
 Like *Dedalus* hee taught mee to aspire;  
 Wee both did flie, he fell, I did but slide;  
 Like in attempts, yet unlike chance wee tried:  
 Hee by a Queene did die, and as that chanc'd,  
 I by a Queene did live, and was advanc'd.

For Lady *Jane* by him a Queene proclaimed  
 Was soone suppress't, Queene *Mary* got the Crowne;  
 Which as her proper right shee boldly claim'd,  
 My Father striv'd in vaine to keepe her downe,  
 And for that lost his life, I my renowne,  
 Till sacred *Cynthia* to the Kingdome came,  
 That gave new life to my late dying fame.

That Peerles Queene of happy memory  
 That late like *Deborah* the Kingdome swaid;  
 Now triumphes in the *Iasper* coulered skie  
 With starre embrodered vesture rich arrayed;  
 Shee, shee restor'd my honours then decay'd  
 When treason did attaint my Fathers bloud,  
 And drown'd our Princely race in *Lethe* flood.

Then.

Then *Jupiter* was in my *Horoscope*,  
 And *Cynthia* blest mee with her faire aspect,  
 What might not then my youth and courage hope,  
 When mee my soveraignes favour did protect,  
 O what may not a Princesse grace effect,  
 When Majesty on hopelesse men doe smile,  
 Whose joyes did seeme to perish in exile.

Even when Queene *Marie*s tragick raigne did end,  
 My comick fortunes in their prime begun  
 That time when *Cynthia*s brightnesse did extend  
 To lighten this darke Land, whose splendant Sunne  
 Was in Eclips, and sorrowes streame did runne,  
 I like the glorious day-starre did appeare,  
 With faire uprise to grace this *Hemisphere*.

Since *Brute* first sway'd all this united land,  
 No subject firmer held his soveraignes grace,  
 My will Imperiall for a Law did stand,  
 Such was my Princes pleasure, such my place,  
 As *Momus* durst not offer mee disgrace,  
 What man did smile, when *Lycens* brow did frown,  
 Whose wit could guide, though never got the Crown.

Whil'ft in this glorious Ocean I did swimme  
 To high preferment divers men I brought,  
 Which since have fought my honours lampe to dimme,  
 Yea such as I before advanc'd of nought,  
 Against my perlon treacheries have wrought,  
 Thus honours doe oft-times good manners change  
 And men grown rich to ancient friends grow strange.

I grieve to thinke, I did such men advance,  
 And raise their base lines to a stately pitch  
 Vnder the shadow of my countenance,  
 The substance of the earth did make them rich,  
 What fury did their senses thus bewitch,  
 Or was it some ill Spirit that posselt them?  
 To seeke my ruine, whose large bounty blest them.



Thus they in vaine my downefall did conspire;  
 Like dogges that at the Moone doe fondly barke,  
 And did but burne themselves like ~~straw~~ fire,  
 Or like grimme Owles did wander in the darke,  
 Contemn'd of mee, that mounted like the lark:  
 Or that rare bird that builds his nest on high,  
 In Cedar trees, whole tops affronts the skie.

When I commanded, who durst countermand,  
 Were not meane Subjects subject to my beck?  
 What man of worth my pleasure did withstand?  
 What single swaines could doe, I did not wreck?  
 I gave the Mate to those that gave mee check.

By the Queenes helpe, and by my threatning lookes,  
 I rul'd the Pawns, the Bishops, Knights, and Rookes.

Thus did I play at Chesse and wonne the game,  
 Having the Queene my pusiance to support,  
 The Bishops for ambition did mee blame,  
 The Pawns affirme I wonne by much extort, (sport;  
 The Rookes and Knights found draughts to marre my  
 Had not some stopt mee with their timely checks,  
 I might have given them Checks without their necks.

My brains had wit, my tongue had eloquence  
 Fit to discourse and tell a courtely tale;  
 My presence portly, brave, magnificent,  
 My words imperious, stout, substantiall,  
 My jestures loving, And, Heroicall,  
 My thoughts ambitious, proud and full of ire,  
 My deeds were good or bad as time requir'd.

Some of my foes that bare mee deadly hate,  
 That had to them chiefe offices assign'd,  
 And were my fellowes, Counsail in the State,  
 Emulous full of my aspiring mind,  
 Gave mee this praise, though other wise unkind:  
 That I was wonderful politique and wise,  
 A States-man that knew how to temporise,

Some

Some others tooke mee for a zealous man,  
 Because good Preachers I did patronize,  
 And many thought mee a Precisian,  
 But God doth know, I never was precise,  
 I seem'd devout in godly exercise,  
 And by religious shew confirm'd my might,  
 But who durst say, I was an Hypocrite.

As *Numa*, when hee first did seeke to drawe  
 The *Roman* people underneath his yoke,  
 Touching Religion hee ordain'd a law  
 And fain'd, hee with nimph *Egeria* spoke,  
 That him to his good motions did provoke;  
 Whereby, as if it were with Heavens consent,  
 He brought these men to civill government.

So when I came in high affaires to deale,  
 Of sound Religion I did make a shewe,  
 And by pretence of that and fervent zeale,  
 In wealth and faction, I more strong did growe,  
 For this by practice I did plainly knowe,  
 That men are apt to yeeld to any motion  
 Made by a man that is of pure devotion.

Yet could I straine my conscience for a mōd,  
 For though I seem'd an earnest Protestant,  
 For gaine I seem'd a Papist, so indeed,  
 Some held mee for a Jewer, and I grant,  
 To serve my torne, I would turne Puritan;  
 Thus by Religion honour some did winne,  
 And this faire cloake oft covers filthy sinne.

Like as the ayre-sucking *Camelion*  
 Can him transforme to any hie save white,  
 So man can turne to any fashion,  
 Save to that forme which is sincere and right,  
 For though hee may delude the peoples sight,  
 It is in vaine before God to dissemble,  
 Whose power the Devils know, & knowing tremble.

Was I the onely man that hath offended  
 In making holinesse a cloake for sinne?  
 The *French-men* for religions sake pretended  
 Their civill warres of late time did beginne,  
 But yet ambition chiefly drew them in,  
 Yea mad ambition and desire of gaine  
 Makes endles broiles betwixt the State and *Spaine*.

Of promises I was so prodigall,  
 So kind, well spoken, and so liberall,  
 That to some great divine as that might fall,  
 Perhaps I promised a Bish oprick,  
 But in performance I was nothing quick;  
 Thus with faire words mens honours oft I fed,  
 Whilst hope this while a good opinion bred.

To learned Schollers, I was something franck  
 Not for the love that I to learning bore,  
 But either to get praise or pick a thank  
 Of such as could the Muses aide implore,  
 For hee is blest, that so be-friended dies,  
 Whole praise the Muses will immortalize.

You mortals that would have your fame survie,  
 When you within your grave entomb'd shall lie,  
 Cherish those sacred sisters while you live,  
 For they bee daughters of Dame memory,  
 And of the thundring Monarch of the skie,  
 They have the guilt to register with penne  
 Th'eternall fame, or infamy of men.

The Students of the Univerſity,  
*Oxford* whereof I was the Chancellour,  
 That Nurce of Science and Philosophie  
 Knowing the greatnesse of my wit and power,  
 Did honour mee as the faire springing flower  
 That in the Princesse favour highly grew,  
 Whom shee with showres of gold did oft bedew.

At my command both *Dee* and *Allen* tended,  
 By magick art my pleasure to fulfill;  
 These to my service their best studies bended,  
 And why they durst not dis-obey my will,  
 Yea whatsoever was of secret skill

In *Oxford* or in *Cambridge* to bee sold,  
 I bought for love, for feare, or els for gold.

Doubtles the most renown'd Philosophers,  
 As *Plato* and *Pythagoras* have sought  
 To learne the Hiraglifed characters,  
 And secrets which by magique skill is wrought,  
 Such as the *Egyptians*, *Jewes*, and *Calddeans* taught;

The Arts not ill, if men doe not abuse it,  
 No fault so bad, but some man will excuse it.

*Lopus* and *Iulio* were my chiefe Phytitians,  
 Men that were cunning in the art to kill;  
 Good Schollers, but of passing ill conditions;  
 Such as could rid mens lives yet no bloud spill,  
 Yea, and with such extreimity and skill

Could give a dram of poyson that would slay,  
 At th'end of the yeare, the moneth, the week, the day.

I never did these wicked men imploy  
 To wrong my Prince, or my true loving friend.  
 But false deceitfull wretches to destroy,  
 And bring them to an unexpected end,  
 Let them looke to it that did most offend,

Whose names are register'd in *Platos* scrowles,  
 For I will never answere for their soules.

Knights and Esquires the best in every shire  
 Did wait on mee in *England* up and downe,  
 And some among them, did my livery weare,  
 My smiles did seeme to promise them renowne,  
 But dismall hopes ensu'd when I did frowne:

As when the starre *Arcturus* did appeare  
 Of raging tempest, Sea-men stand in feare.



As for the souldiers and the men of warre  
 At home in service, some I did retaine,  
 Others I sent abroad not very farre,  
 At my commandment to returne againe;  
 These I with costs did secretly maintaine,  
 That if ought chanced otherwise then well,  
 I might have sent my foes to Heaven or Hell.

Likewise I brought the Lawyers in some way,  
 The worthy Students of the Innes of Court,  
 That there appli'd them to the Common-law  
 Did yeeld to mee in matters of import,  
 Although sometimes I did the law extort;  
 And whether right or wrong my cause on it hard  
 To plead against mee, made great Lords afraid.

So the Lord *Barckley* lost his good lands by mee,  
 Whereof at first perhaps, hee did not dreame,  
 "Might many times doth overcome the right,  
 "It is in vaine to strive against the streame;  
 Where he, that is chiefe subject of the Realme,  
 Vpon his Soveraignes favour rests him bould,  
 Hee cannot, or hee will not bee contrould.

Thus by the Queene my puissance was upheld,  
 And for my foes I ever was too strong,  
 The grace I had from her, all feare expell'd  
 I might wrong others, but not suffer wrong;  
 So many men did unto mee belong,  
 Which on my favour chiefly did depend,  
 And for my sake both lands and goods would spend.

The best esteemed noble of the land,  
 On whose support the publique State reli'd  
 Were linkt with mee in friendships faithfull band  
 Or els in kindred neerely were alli'd,  
 Their perfect loves and constant hearts I ride;  
 Th' inferior sort, at our devotion stood  
 Ready to execute what wee thought good,

The

The Earle of *Warwick* my owne loving Brother;  
 My Sisters husband th' Earle of *Huntington*;  
 The bounteous Earle of *Bedford* was another  
 Of my best friends belov'd of every one;  
 Sir *Henry Sidney* power in *Wales* well knowne;  
 And there th' Earle of *Pembroke* chiefe of all,  
 Of kinne my friend what ever chance might fall.

In *Berwick* my wifes Vncle had chiefe power;  
 The Lord of *Hunsden* my assured friend;  
 In *Ireland* the Lord *Gray* was Governour;  
*Gernsey* and *Iersey* likewise did depend  
 Vpon such men as did my will attend;  
*Hampton* my man, Lieutenant of the Tower,  
 Prompt to doe my service at an houre.

Sir *Edward Horsey* in the Isle of *wight*,  
 And Noble Sir *George Cerin*, next bore sway,  
 Men of great courage and no little might  
 To take my part in any doubtfull fray,  
 In *London* the Recorder *Fleetwood* lay,  
 That often made good words that might incense  
 The Citizens to stand in my defence.

The Prelates did often take my part,  
 As I in private quarrels oft have tride;  
 So that I had the very head and heart,  
 The Court and City leaning on my side,  
 With flattery some, others which guifts I plide;  
 And some with threats, stern looks and angry words,  
 I winne to my defence with clubbes and swords.

Thus I by wisedome and fine policy  
 Maintain'd the reputation of my life;  
 Drawing to mee, the flowers of chivalry  
 To surrou me at need in time of strife,  
 Men that lov'd change in every place were rife;  
 And all the Realm was with my power possest, (best)  
 Thinke what this might have wrought, but judge the

Like *Claudius Marcellus* drawne through *Rome*  
 In his faire Chariot with youths Trophies deckt,  
 Crown'd with garlands by the *Senass* doome,  
 Whom they five times their Confull did elect,  
 That from their foes hee might their lives protect;  
 When hee with conquest did his Countrey greet;  
 Loads of rich spoiles lay prostrate at his feet:

So did I triumph ride through all those townes,  
 As if I had beene *Viceroy* of this land;  
 My face well graft with smiles, my purse with Crownes,  
 Houlding the raines of honour in my hand,  
 I manag'd all the State, I did command:  
 My lookes with humble Majesty repleat;  
 Made some men with mee a Kings royall feat.

Thus waxt I popular to purchase fame,  
 To mee the Common-peoples knees did bow,  
 I could my humour still so fittely frame  
 To entertaine all men to outward show,  
 For few with inward love my heart did know,  
 And that I might not seeme past up with pride,  
 Bare-headed oft through Cities I did ride.

While some cried out, God save you gracious Lord,  
 Lord how they did my fame hyperbolize,  
 My words and gesture did so well accord  
 As with their hearts I seem'd to sympathize,  
 I charm'd their cares, and did enchant their eyes,  
 Thus was I reckon'd their chiefe Potentate,  
 No poller but a pillar of the State.

Then I was call'd the life, and ô the Court!  
 And some, I wot, wisht I had beene the head;  
 I had so great a traine and such a port,  
 As did the pompe of *Mortimer* exceed;  
 Whom (as in th'English Cronicles wee read,  
 When second *Edward* lost his Kingly rights)  
 Was waited on at onst with nine score Knights.

The

The Earle of *March*, Sir *Robert Mortimer*,  
 Ruld the young King, *Queene mother*, and the *Peeres*,  
 I *Robert Dudley* Earle of *Leicester*,  
 Did sway in Court, and all the *English Shires*,  
 His rule was short, mine florist many yeares.  
 Hee did his life with *Ignominy* loose;  
 I liv'd and triumpht ore my proudest foes.

As the Image of great *Alexander* dead,  
 Made King *Cassander* tremble at his sight  
 Spying the figure of his Royall head,  
 Whose presence sometime did the World affright;  
 Or like as *Cesar* monarchizing spright,  
 Persuade false *Brutus* at *Phillippes* field,  
 Till hee that slew his leige himselfe was kild.

So view yee petty Lords my Princely Ghost,  
 I speake to you whose heart is full of gall,  
 I whilst I liv'd was honour'd of the most,  
 And either fear'd for love, of great and male,  
 Or lov'd for feare of such as wisht my fall;  
 Behold my shadow representing State,  
 Whose person sometime did your pride abate.

Waigh what I was, Knights, Gentlemen, and *Peeres*,  
 When my death threatning frownes did make you quake,  
 As yet there was not pass't not many yeares,  
 Since I you plumes pluckt, lofty crests did shake,  
 Then tell mee Sirs for old acquaintance sake,  
 Waxe yee not pale to heare of *Leisters* name,  
 Or to bakbite mee, blush yee not for shame.

You say, in dealings that I was unjust  
 As if true Justice ballance yee could guide,  
 Had I dealt justly, I had turn'd to dust,  
 Long before this, your corps wolne up with pride,  
 Which now surviving doe my acts deride:  
 My fame yet liyes, though death abridg'd my dayes,  
 Some of you died that over liv'd your praise.



Are there not some among you Parasites,  
 Time-servants and observers of no measure,  
 Damn'd Machevillians given to lust and pleasure,  
 Church robbers, beggars of the Princes treasure,  
 Prince-smothers, people pleasure, Hippocrites,  
 Truce-breakers, Pirates, Atheists, Sycophants,  
 Can equity dwell here, where conscience wants.

And yet, you think none justly deals but you,  
 Divine *Astrea* up to Heaven is fled;  
 And turne to *Libra* there look up to view,  
 Her ballance in the zodlack figur'd;  
 Just *Aristides* onst was banished,  
 Where lives his match whom envy did perdue,  
 Because men thought hee was too just and true.

Yee say ambition harbour'd in my braine,  
 I say ambition is no hainous sinne,  
 To men of state doe stately thoughts pertaine  
 By basebred thoughts never can any winne,  
 Who ever did a great exploit beginne,  
 Before ambition moy'd him to the deed,  
 And hope of honour urg'd him to proceed.

*Themistocles* had never put to flight,  
*Xerxes* hughe host; nor tam'd the *Persian* pride,  
 Nor had King *Pyrnus* got by match his fight;  
 The *Romans* spoiles with conquest on his fight,  
 If first ambition had not beene the guide;  
 Had not this humour, their stout hearts allur'd  
 To high attempts, their fame had beene obscur'd.

The Eagle doth disdain to catch smale flies,  
 The Lion with the Ape doth scorne to play,  
 The Dolphin doth the Whirle-pooles love despise;  
 Thus if Beasts, Birds, and Fishes beare such sway,  
 Much more should man (whom reason doth adorne)  
 Bee noble minded and base fortune scorne.

Admit

Admit I could dissemble wittily,  
 This is a grievous sinne in man of State;  
 Dissembling is a point of policy;  
 Plaine dealing now growes stale, and out of date,  
 Wherefore I oft conceald my privy hate,  
 Till I might find fit time, though long I stay'd,  
 To wreake the wrath, that in my heart I lay'd.

The old proverbe saith, plaine dealing is a Tutch,  
 But hee that useth it a begger dies;  
 The World is now a dayes become so cruell  
 That Courtiers doe plaine Country-men despise;  
 Quick wits and cunning heads doe quickly rise,  
 And to bee plaine, yee shall plainly deale,  
 That office seekes in Court or Common-wealth.

Now *Aristippus* is in more request  
 That knew the way to please a Monarch's mind  
 Then that Cinique swad that us'd to jest,  
 At every idle Knave that hee could find,  
 To unkind friends you must not bee too kind,  
 This is a maxime which to you I give,  
 Men must dissemble or they cannot live.

Yee say I was a coward in the field,  
 I say that fits not such a Noble wight,  
 To whom his Countrey doth the tide yeld  
 of Lord Lieutenant, with full power and might  
 To venture his owne person in the fight;  
 Let others die which as our vassalles serve,  
 Whilst heaven for better hap our hopes preserve.

How soone did *Englands* joy in *France* diminish,  
 When th' Earle of *Salisbury* at *Oyleans*  
 By gunshot strooke, his honours life did finish;  
 When *Talbot* that did often time advance  
 The *English* Ensignes in despite of *France*  
 Was at the last his ironed and flaine,  
 Whose name the *French* themselves with terror doe remaine.

Dere

And

And what a fatall wound did *Rome* receive  
 By *Craſſus* death whom faithleſſe Parthians ſlew,  
 How did the Senate for *Flaminius* grieve;  
 And for *Emilius* death and his rout cruell  
 Whom *Hannibal* at *Cannae* did ſubdue;  
 Cut off an arme, yet life the heart may cheriſh,  
 Cut off the head, and every part will periſh.

*Iphicrates* th' *Athenian* uſe to ſay,  
 Vaunt Currouers are like hands to battaile preſt,  
 The men of armes are feet whereon to ſtay,  
 The Foote-men as the ſtomack and the breaſt,  
 The Captaines as the head above the reſt;  
 The head onſt, craſed troubleth all the parts,  
 The *Generall* ſtaine doth kill ten thouſand hearts.

Therefore a Lord Licutenant ſhould take care,  
 That hee in ſafety doe himſelfe reſpoſe,  
 And ſhould not hazard life at every dare,  
 But watch and ward; ſo *Fabius* tir'd his foes,  
 When raſh *Minutius* did the conqueſt looſe,  
 If ſuch in open danger will intrude,  
 It is fond raſhnes and not fortitude.

You ſay I was laſcivious in my love,  
 And that I tempted many a gallant Dame,  
 Not ſo content, but I did alſo prove  
 To winne, their handmaids if I like the game;  
 Why Sirs, you know love kindles ſuch a flame,  
 As if wee may beleve what Poets penne,  
 It doth inchant the hearts of Gods and men.

*Love* lov'd the Daughter of a jealous Sire,  
*Dymas* a maid immur'd within a Towre,  
 Yet to accompliſh the end of his deſire,  
 Hee metamorphos'd to a goulden ſhowre  
 Fell in the lap of his faire paramour,  
 And being term'd a God did not diſdaine,  
 To turne to man, to beaſt, to ſhowre of ruine.

**Deere**

Deere Lord, when Cupid throwes his fire darts,  
 Doth none of them your tender bodies hit,  
 Doth *Cytherea* never charme your hearts,  
 Nor beauty trie your quintessentiall wit,  
 Perhaps you will say, no, for it is unfit:  
 Now by my Garter and my *George* to boote,  
 The blind boy surely hits, if hee doth shoote!

Whereas you doe object by magick charmes,  
 I sought to winne faire Dames to my desire,  
 T'is better so then strive by force of armes.  
 "For forced love will quickly back retire;  
 If faire meanes cannot winne what wee require,  
 Some secret tricks and flights must be devised  
 That love may even from hell bee exercised."

To you dull wits it seemes impossible,  
 By drinckes or charmes this worke to passe to bring,  
 Know then that *Giver* went invisible  
 By turning of the sigill of his Ring  
 Toward his palme, and thereby slew the King,  
 Laic with his wife of any man unseene,  
 Lastely did raigne by marrying with the Queen.

King *Solomon* for magick naturall  
 Was held a cunning man by some divines,  
 Hee wrote a booke of Science naturall,  
 To bind ill Spirits in their darke confines,  
 Hee had great store of wives and concubines;  
 Yet was hee a sacred King, this I inferre  
 "The wisest man that now doth live my ere."

Also yee said that when I waxed old,  
 When age and mispent time had made mee drile,  
 For ancient held in carnall lust is cold,  
 Nature's defect with art I did supplie,  
 That so to helpe this imbecility  
 I used strange drinckes and ornaments of great price,  
 Whole salt or touch might make dead still alive.



To this I answer, that this fine cast of  
 Drammes and electuaries rarely made  
 Serv'd not so much to helpe, ventrill actions  
 As for to comfort nature that's decay'd,  
 Which being with indifferent judgement way'd  
 In Noble men may bee allow'd I trust,  
 As lending to their healths, and not their lusts.

What if I drinke nothing but liquid gold,  
 Laſtrina, Chriſtall, Pearle diſſolv'd in wine,  
 Such as the *Egyptians* full cuppes of did hold,  
 When *Cleopatra* with her Lord did dine,  
 A triſſe, care not, for the coſt was mine,  
 What if I gave *Hippolytus* in drinke  
 To ſome faire Danieſ, as ſome ſaies yee muſt winke?

Yee ſay I was a Traytor to the Queene,  
 And that when Monſieur was in greateſt grace,  
 I being out of favour, mov'd with ſpleene,  
 To ſee a French-man frolique in the place:  
 Forth toward *Berwick* then did poſt a pace,  
 Minding to raiſe a rebellious rout,  
 To take my part in what I went about.

That I was then a Traytor I deny,  
 But I confeſſe that I was Monſieurs foe,  
 And ſought to breake the league of amity,  
 Which then betwix my Prince and him did growe:  
 Doubting Religion might be changed ſo,  
 Or that our lawes and cuſtomes were in danger,  
 To bee corrupte and alter'd by a ſtranger.

Therefore I did a ſuſſion ſtrong maintaine  
 Againſt the Earle of *Salisbury*, a ſtout Lord  
 On Monſieurs ſide, and then Lord Chamberlaine,  
 Who ſought to make that ſuſſiall record  
 Which none may breake, whoſe the ſacred word  
 But that it changed ſide hee liv'd in vaine  
 To ſuſſaine him, which I have not ordain'd.

Thus

Thus did yee mis-interpret my conceits,  
 That for disloyalty my deeds did blame,  
 Yet many men have layed their secret baits,  
 To entrappe mee in such snares to worke my shame,  
 Whom I in time sufficiently did tame,  
 And by my Sovereignes favour bore them downe,  
 Proving my selfe true Liegeman to the Crowne.

Thinke yee I could forget my Sovereigne Lady  
 That was to mee so gracious and so kind,  
 How many triumphes for her glory made I,  
 O I could never blot out of my mind,  
 What Characters of grace in her still shin'd,  
 But some of you which were by her prefer'd,  
 Have with her bones almost her name interr'd.

When shee was gone which of you all did weepe,  
 What mournfull song did *Phylomela* sing,  
 Alas when shee in cold death-bed did sleepe,  
 Which of you all her dolefull lull did ring,  
 How long will yee now love your crownd King,  
 If yee forget to looke you could Queens dead,  
 Which foure and fourtie yeares hath governed.

Yee say I sought by Murder to aspre,  
 And by strong poison many men to slay,  
 Which as yee thought might croffe my high desire,  
 And cloude my long expected golden day,  
 Perhaps I laid some blocks out of my way,  
 Which hindred mee from coming to the bowre,  
 Where *Cymbeline* like *Hamper* in *Flower* Towre.

Alas I come not of a *Tyger* kind,  
 My hands with blood, I have to suffice,  
 But when by good experience I did find  
 How some with fained love did mee beguile,  
 Perchance all pittie then I did exile,  
 And as it were against my will was prest,  
 To seeke their deaths that did my life detest.

Lo then, attend to heare a dolefull tale,  
Of those whose deaths you doe suppose I wrought,  
Yet with I that the World beleeveth not all,  
That hath of mee by envious men beene wroght,  
But when I for a Kingly fortune sought,  
O pardon mee, my selfe I might forget,  
And cast downe some my state aloft to set.

My first wife fell downe from a paire of staires,  
And brake her neck and so at *Cranmer* died,  
Whil'st her true servants led with small affaires,  
Vnto a faire at *Abbingdon* did ride,  
This dismall hap unto my wife betide:  
Whether yee call it chance or destinie,  
Too true it is shee did untimely die.

O had I now a showre of teares to shed,  
Lockt in the empty Circles of mine eyes,  
Or could I shed in mourning for the dead,  
That lost a spouse so young, so faire, so wise,  
So faire a corps, so soule a corse now lies,  
My hope to have married with a famous *Queene*,  
Drove pittie back, and kept my teares unseene.

What man so fond that would not loose a Pearle  
To find a Diamand, leave brass for gold?  
Or who would not forsake a gallant girl,  
To winne a *Queene*, great men in awe to hold?  
To rule the State of none to bee controll'd,  
"O but the steps that lead unto a throne,  
"Are dangerous for men to tread upon."

The Cardinall *Chatilian* was my foe,  
Whose death peradventure I did compact,  
Because hee let *Queene Elizabeth* to know  
My false report given of a former act,  
How I with her had made a precontract,  
And the great Princes hope I had thereby,  
That sought to marry with her Majesty.

The

The Prelate had better better hold his tongue  
 And kist his Fathers holy seete in *Rome*,  
 A Masse the sooner for his soule was song,  
 But hee might thank men had hee stayd at home,  
 Or late or never but to *Herten* had hee come,  
 Therefore I sent him merrily from the coast,  
 Perhaps to supper with the Lord of hostes.

When death by hap my first wife needed had crackt  
 And that my suite unto the Queene will speed,  
 It chanced that I made a poore contract  
 And did in sort the Lady *Shiffold* wed,  
 Of whom I had two goodly children bred,  
 For the Lord *Shiffold* died as I was free,  
 Of a Catarchy, which Physicians could not cure.

Some thinke, the Rhyme is artificiall,  
 Which this good Lord before his end did take,  
 Tush, what I gave to him was naturall,  
 My plighted troth, yes some amends did make,  
 Though hee at length, unhind, I did forsake,  
 Shee must not blame mee for a higher reach,  
 Made my fore promise from a sudden breach.

The valiant Earle whom absent I did wrong,  
 In breaking *Hymene* his holy band,  
 In *Ireland* did protract the time too long,  
 Whil' st some in *England* jingled under hand,  
 And at his coming home wards to this land,  
 Hee died with poison as they say infected,  
 Not without cause, for vengeance I suspected.

Because this fact notorious scandal bred,  
 And for I did his gallant wife abuse,  
 To save this sore when this brave Lord was dead,  
 I for my selfe did this faire Lady choose,  
 And shee is faire, deere Lady, more than true,  
 It was pure love which made mee merrily take,  
 This haplesse recontract with thee to make.



Now in *Jove's* Pallas that good Lord doth slip,  
 And drinke full bowles of *Nectar* in the skie,  
*Hammes* his page; that tasted of that cup,  
 Did onely looke his haire and did not die,  
 True noble Earle; thy faile to Heaven did flie,  
 Hee doth repent his fault, and pardon crave,  
 That mar'd thy bed, and too soone made thy grave.

Thou did'st behind thee leave a matchlesse sonne;  
 A peerlesse pattern for all Princely Peeres,  
 Whose sparkes of glory in my time begonne,  
 Kindled with hope, flamb'd highly in few yeeres;  
 But death him struck and main'd this land with feares,  
 His sonne doth live, true Image of him dead,  
 To glad this soile where shadowes of scars were fled.

They were too blame that said the *Queene* should marry  
 With mee, her Morke-keeper, for so they told mee,  
 But thou *Throgmorton*, which this tale did carry  
 From *France* to *England* hast more sharply gale mee,  
 Sith my good *Queene* in office high chose I mee,  
 For I was Master of her highnesse Morke,  
 I scorn'd thy words, which did my late inforce.

But tell mee then, how did'st thou like thy fare  
 When I to supper last did thee invite;  
 If I did rid thee of a Woold of care  
 By giving thee a fatter gentle Knight,  
 With gasterly looks doe not my soule affright;  
*Leycester* I am whom *England* on't did dread,  
 But now I am like thee *Throgmorton* dead.

My Lord of *Stafford* was too collerick,  
 That call'd mee Traytor, and a Traytors sonne,  
 But I serv'd him a fine *Indian* trick,  
 Had I not done so I had bene undone,  
 Now marke the end what conquest hee hath wonne;  
 A little scruple that to him I sent,  
 Did purge his choller till his life was spent.

Hee

Hee was a gallant Noble man, indeed  
 O but his life did still my life in case  
 Therefore I sent him with a constant speed  
 To rest amongst his Ancestours in peace  
 My rage was passifide at his decease  
 And now I come to embrace his love too late,  
 Whom dead I lov'd, and living I did hate.

I came to visit as I chanc'd to walk  
 My Lady *Lenox* whom I hated not well  
 I took her by the hand, had private talk  
 And so departed a short tale to tell  
 When I was gone unto the place she fell  
 That never could her company to keep  
 Till it had brought her to a senseless sleep.

I dreamt shee had not many dayes to live  
 And this my dream did shortly fall out true  
 So as her Ghostly father, I did give  
 Some comfort to her soule, for well I knew  
 That shee would shortly bid this World adieu  
 Some say I gave such physick as did kill her  
 But I suppose that more conceit did kill her.

Some will object perhaps I did pretend  
 To meet the Earle of *Down* on a day  
 In single fight our quarrell for to end  
 But did command my servant *Kyllipray*  
 To lie in ambush that stout Lord to slay  
 But Heaven did not consent to worke his spoyle  
 Which was the glory of the *7th* of May.

Perhaps I doubted that I was too weak  
 And loth I was, he should the conquest win  
 If in this cause I did my promise break  
 I hope men will not count it for a sin  
 Is it not good to stand in with the strong  
 When *Heaven* would have us to be strong  
 Hee used to say, as I have heard him say

If I the death of Monsieur *Shaw* thought,  
 When he from *France* *Barbadoes* was sent,  
 I had good cause to feele it, as I thought,  
 For towards mee hee bore no good intent.  
 Had hee fled by times, perhaps I meant  
 To have sent him in Embasse for my pleasure  
 To the black Friend that keepe *Aovern* treasure.

For when no man about the Coast durst speake,  
 That I the Lady *Lerick* married,  
 This prating French man first the Ice did breake,  
 And to the Queene the fact discovered,  
 Which (not without iust cause) the anger bred,  
 Thus th'ape did play his party contrould of none,  
 When hee espied the Beare from home was gone.

One *Salvadore* an Italian borne,  
 Having on't watcht with mee till midde of night,  
 Was found slaine in his bed the next day morne,  
 Alas poore man, I had his wofull plight,  
 That did in nothing but in sinne delight:  
 Had hee to honest actions bent his wit,  
 Hee might have longer liv'd and kept his fit.

But what reward should such a man expect,  
 Whom gold to any Lewdnes could entice,  
 On's turne, on't scaw'd, why should wee not reject  
 So vile an instrument of damned vice,  
 What if hee were dispatched in a trice,  
 Was it not better this mans blood to spill,  
 Then let him live the World with sinne to fill.

I doubted least that *Doughis* would bewray  
 My Councell, and with other party take,  
 Wherefore the sooner him to rid away,  
 I sent him forth, to Sea with *Captaine Drake*,  
 Who knew how to entertaine him for my sake,  
 Before he went, his let by mee was sent,  
 His death was plotted and performed as I ment.

Hee

Hee hoped well, but I did so dispose,  
 That hee at Port-Saint-Gilian lost his head,  
 Having no time permitted to disclose  
 The inward griefes that in his heart were bred;  
 Wee need not feare the biting of the dead,  
 Now let him goe transported to the Seas,  
 And tell my secrets to the *Antipodes*.

My servant *Gates* did speed as ill or worse,  
 To whom I did my close intents impart,  
 And at his need with money stufte his purse,  
 And will'd him still take courage at his heart,  
 Yet in the end, hee felt the deadly smart;  
 Hee was inveiglede by some subtile witted,  
 To robbe, so hee was taken and committed.

Of pardons, I did put him still in hope,  
 When hee of felony was guilty found,  
 And so condemn'd, till his last friend, the rope  
 Did him uphold from falling to the ground,  
 "What hope of grace, where vice doth so abound:  
 Hee was beguil'd like birds that use to gape,  
 At *Zenets* table for a painted grape.

Yet did I to the man no injury,  
 I gave him time and leasure to repent,  
 And well hee knew hee had deserv'd too die,  
 Therefore all future mischief to prevent,  
 I let him slip away with my consent;  
 For his reprivall, (like a crafty Fox,)  
 I sent no pardon, but an empty Box.

Else as unfaithfull *Sanister* betrayed  
 The Duke of *Buckingham*, his Master deere,  
 When hee of *Richards* tyranny affraid,  
 Fled to his servants house for succour there,  
 So might my man for gaine, or lost for feare,  
 Have brought my corps, with shame unto my grave,  
 By too much trusting to a prattling knave.



It seemes at mee great *Norfolke* Duke doth frowne,  
 Because hee thinkes I did his death contrive,  
 Perswading some hee aymed at the Crowne;  
 And that by Royall match hee meant to strive,  
 A Kingdome to his Lordship to revive.

Alas good Duke hee was too weake and mild,  
 And I too faithlesse, that his trust beguild.

For that I found his favour first was bent,  
 To take the *Scots* captived Queene to wife,  
 I egg'd him on to follow his intent,  
 That by this meanes I might abridge his life,  
 And she a crowned Queene to stint all strife;  
 First finding *Scotland* lost, to *England* fled,  
 Where shee in hope of succour lost her head.

Oblestted Spirits live yee evermore,  
 In Heavenly *Syon* where your Maker raignes,  
 And give mee leave my fortunes to deplore,  
 That am fast fetterd with sinnes iron chaines;  
 " Mans most sweet joyes are mixt with some soure  
 And none doth live in high or low degree, (paines,  
 That can in life or death, from Woe bee free,

And now my tongue growes weary to recite,  
 Such Massacres as have bene here exprest,  
 Whose sad remembrance doth affright my spirit,  
 Mee thinkes I see Legions of soules to rest  
 In *Abrahams* bosome, and my selfe opprest:  
 The burthen of my sinnes doe waigh mee downe,  
 At mee the Feinds doe laugh, and Angels frowne.

My crimes I grant were great, and manifold,  
 Yet not so hainous as men make report,  
 But flattering Parasites are growne so bold,  
 That they of Princes matters make a sport,  
 To please the humour of the vulgar sort,  
 And that poore pcevish giddy-headed crew,  
 Are prone to credite any tale untrue.

Let those that live, endeavour to live well,  
 Least after death, like mine, their guilt remaine,  
 Let no man thinke there is no Heaven nor Hell;  
 Or like the impious *Saduces* maintaine,  
 That after death no flesh shall rise againe:  
 Let no man trust to fortunes fickle wheele,  
 The guerdon due for sinne I partly feele.

Know that the Prince of Heavenly *Seraphines*;  
 When hee against his Creatour did rebell,  
 Was tumbled downe for his presumptuous sinne;  
 Sathan, that onst was blest, like lightening fell,  
 From the highest Heaven to the deepest Hell;  
 And all those Angels that his part did take,  
 Have now their portions in the burning lake.

Of mighty heapes of treasure I could vaunt,  
 For I reapt profit out of every thing,  
 I could the Princes and peoples hearts inchant  
 With my faire words and smoth fac'd flattering;  
 Yea out of drosse pure gould I oft did wring,  
 For though the meanes to winne bee oft unmeet,  
 The smell of lucre ever smelleth sweet.

So I sometime had very much good hap,  
 Great suites of my dread Sovereigne to obtaine,  
 Prodiggall fortune pour'd downe from her lap;  
 Angels in gold as thick as drops in raine,  
 Such was my luck to find the golden vaine:  
 Likewise with mee it seemed nothing strange;  
 Both rent and lands off with my Prince t'exchange.

I had another way to enrich my selfe,  
 By getting Licenses for mee alone,  
 For wine, oyle, velvet, cloath, and such like pelfe,  
 Also by Licenses of Alienation  
 By raising rents and by appression  
 By claiming forests, pastures, commons, woods,  
 And forfeitures of lands, of life, and goods.

By this strange course I also greatly thriv'd;  
 In falling out with my deere Sovereigne,  
 For I the plot so cunningly contriv'd,  
 That reconfilement soone was made againe;  
 And by this meanes great gifts I did obtaine,  
 For that I might my purse the better fill;  
 I begg'd great suites as pledge of new good will.

Besides, sometimes I did increase my store,  
 By benefits that I from *Oxford* tooke,  
 Electing heads of houses heretofore;  
 I lov'd their money, and they lov'd there booke,  
 Some poorer, though more learned, I forsooke;  
 For in those dayes, charity waxed cold,  
 Little was done for love, but much for gold.

Doubtles my Father was a worthy Peere  
 In *Edward* the sixt dayes, when hee was sent  
 Against Rebels that did rise in *Norfolke* shire,  
 And after that, when hee to *Scotland* went  
 Under the Lord Protector's regiment,  
 By notable exploit against the *Scot*,  
 Eternall glory to himselfe hee got.

Truly ambition was his greatest fault;  
 Which commonly in noble hearts is bred;  
 Hee thought, hee never could his State exalt,  
 Till the good Duke of *Somerset* was dead,  
 Who by my Fathers meanes did loose his head:  
 So ill the race of *Dundell* could endure,  
 The *Seymours* lives which did their fame obscure.

When onst King *Edward* at the butte had shot,  
 My Father said, your grace shootes neere the marke;  
 The King repli'd but not so neere I wot,  
 As when you shot my Vncles head off quite;  
 The Duke my Father knew the King said right;  
 And that hee meant this matter to debate  
 If ere hee liv'd to come to mans estate.

It seemes my Father in times past, had beene  
 A skilfull Archer, though no learned cleark;  
 So strange a chance as this is feldome seene,  
 I doe suppose, hee shot not in the darke;  
 That could so quickly hit so faire a marke,  
 Nor have I mist my aime, nor worfe have sped,  
 When I shot off the Duke off *Norfolkes* head.

Now when the Duke of *Somerset* was dead,  
 My Father to the *French* did *Bulloigne* sell,  
 As pleased him the King hee governed,  
 And from the privy Counsell did depell;  
 Th' Earles of *Southampton* and of *Arundell*,  
 Thus while hee rulde and controuled all,  
 The wise young King extreemely sick did fall.

Who having languisht long, of life depriv'd,  
 Not without poison as it was suspected,  
 The Counsaile through my Fathers meanes contriv'd  
 That *Suffolkes* Daughter should be Queene elected,  
 The sisters of King *Edward* were rejected;  
 My brother *Gilford* to *Jane Gray* was wedded,  
 Too high preferr'd, that was so soone beheaded.

This Lady *Jane* that onst was term'd a Queene,  
 Greater in fame then fortune was put downe;  
 Had not King *Henries* Daughters living beene,  
 Might for her vertues have deserv'd a Crowne;  
 Fortune on her at onst did smile and frowne;  
 Her wedding garment for a Princes meeke,  
 Was quickly changed for a winding sheet.

For I was jumpe of *Iulius Casars* mind,  
 That could no one superiour Lord endure;  
 Nay, I to rule my Sovereigne was enclin'd,  
 And bring the Common-people to my line,  
 Accounting that my fortunes was obscure,  
 And that I lived in a wofull plight,  
 If any one Ecclipt my graces light.



The love to raigne makes many men respect,  
 Neither their friend, their kindred, nor their vow,  
 The love to raigne makes many men neglect,  
 The duty which to God and man they owe,  
 From out this fountaine many mischiefes growe,  
 Hereof examples many may bee read,  
 In Chronicles of the *English* Princes dead.

This humour made King *Harrold* breake his oath,  
 Made unto *William* Duke of *Normandy*,  
 This made King *Ruffus* and young *Beaulenke* bet  
 Their elder brother *Robert* to defie,  
 And *Stephen* to forget his loyalty,  
 To *Maude* the emperesse, and to hould in scorne,  
 The faithfull oath which hee to her had sworne.

This made young *Henry* crowned by his Sire  
 Against his Father warrefarre to maintaine,  
 This made King *Iohn* the Kingdome to aspire,  
 Which to his nephew *Arthur* did pertaine,  
 And him in prison hardely to retaine;  
 And this made *Bullingbrooke* usurpe the Crowne  
 Putting his lawfull Sovereigne *Richard* downe.

This made *Edward* the fourth at his returne,  
 To breake the oath which hee had lately sworne  
 When hee from *Burgundy* to *York* was come,  
 And rule the Realme in good King *Henries* roome;  
 This made the Tyrant *Richard* eake to doome,  
 His nephues death and ridde away his wife,  
 And so in bloud to end his wretched life.

A pretty plot in practize I did put,  
 Either to take a Queene without delay,  
 Or when the cards were shuffled and well cut,  
 To choose the King and cast the Knaves away,  
 Hee should bee cunning, that great game would play,  
 Ill luck hath hee, that no good game can make,  
 Where Princes play and crownes lie at the stake.

First

First I assay'd Queene *Elizabeth* to wed,  
 Whom divers Princes courted but in vaine,  
 When in this course unluckly I sped,  
 I fought the *Scots* Queene marriage to obtaine,  
 But when I reapt no profit for my paine,  
 I fought to match *Denbigh* my tender child  
 To Dame *Arbella*, but I was beguil'd.

Even as *Octavius* with *Marke Anthony*,  
 And *Lepidus* the *Romaine* Empire shar'd,  
 That of the World then held the Sovereignty,  
 So I a new *Trimmerate* prepar'd,  
 If cruell death young *Denbighs* life had spar'd,  
 The Grandame, Vncle, and the Father in law,  
 Might thus have brought all *England* under aw.

In the Low-Countries did my fame fore high,  
 When I was sent Lieutenant generall,  
 The Queenes proud foes I stoutly did defie,  
 And made them too some composition fall,  
 There I maintain'd a port Majestically;  
 In pompe and triumph many dayes I spent,  
 From noble then, my name grew excellent.

Then was my heart in height of her desire,  
 My mind pult up with sarquery and pride,  
 The vulgar sort my glory did admire,  
 Even as the *Romans*, *Ave Caesar* cried  
 When the Emperour to the Senate house did ride;  
 So did the *Flemings* with due reverence,  
 Like thunder say God save your excellence.

Few subjects before mee obtain'd this stile,  
 Vnlesse they were as viceroyes of this land,  
 The name of Lordship seem'd to base and vile  
 To mee that govern'd such a Royall band,  
 And had a Princes absolute command,  
 Who did not of my puffsance stand in aw?  
 That might put him to death by Martiall law.

Lo what a Title hath my honour got,  
 An Excellency added to my name,  
 Can this injurious World so quickly blot  
 A name so great out of records of fame,  
 Covering my glory with a vaile of shame;  
 Or will it now contemne mee being dead,  
 Whom living, even with feare it honoured.

The Towne of *Denborough* I did besiege,  
 Which did on composition shortly yeeld,  
 I did good service to my gracious leige,  
 Till by ill Concellours I was beguil'd;  
 For such as were my Captaines in the field,  
 To whom I did at length chiefe charge commit,  
 Seduc'd mee to doe many things unfit.

When Sir *John Norris* counsaile I refus'd,  
 Whole perfect skill in Armes I well knew,  
 By *Rowland Yorke*s devise I was abus'd,  
 Whereof some losse loone after did ensue,  
*Deventer* Towne and *Zutphen* Sconce I rue;  
 By *Yorke* and *Stanley* without many bloes,  
 Where rendered up to mercy of the foes.

And that which to my heart might more grieve strike,  
 Hapned the death of that renowned Knight,  
 My nephew *Sidney* neere *Coleston* Dike,  
 Receiv'd his deadly wound through fortunes spight,  
 I sent no fresh supply to him out right,  
 I was not farre off with a mighty hoast,  
 So with his losse of life some fame I lost.

The Court of him lost a brave Courteour,  
 The Countrey lost a Guide their faults to mend,  
 The campe did loose an expert Souldiour,  
 The City lost an honourable friend,  
 The Schooles a Patron their rights to defend,  
 The Court, the Countrey, and the Schooles and City,  
 For *Sidney*s death doe sing a mournfull ditty.

Now

Now while my Princely glory did abound,  
 Like rich *Lucullus* I great feasts did make,  
 And was for hospitalty renown'd,  
 The use of Armes I quickly did forsake,  
 An easier taske I meant to undertake,  
 I tooke no joyes in wounds and broken pates,  
 But to carrouse and banquet with the States.

Not *Heliogabius* whose dainty fare  
 Did all the *Roman* Emperours feasts exceed,  
 In cost and rarenes might with mine compare,  
 Though hee on braies of *Ostriches* did feed,  
 And *Phinicepterus*, and that instead  
 Of Oyle, he us'd his lammes with Balme to fill,  
 Such was the pleasure of the Tyrants will.

To mee Count *Egmonts* Daughter did resort,  
 And such brave Dames as *Flanders* still did yeeld,  
 That it did rather seeme, I came to court  
 A gallant Lady, then to pitch a field,  
 For I did lay aside the sword and shield,  
 At cards and dice I spent the vacant dayes,  
 And made great feasts instead of Martiall frayes.

But whilst in games and love my time I spent,  
 Seeming secure as though I ear'd for nought,  
 My Messengers abroad I dayly sent,  
 As instruments of my still working thought,  
 Whereby my purpose oft to passe I brought,  
 And compass what before I did devise  
 At such a time as no man will surmise.

Thus great attempts I oft did enterprise,  
 Like a Magitian that with some fine wile,  
 Dazels the sight of the Spectatours eyes,  
 And with illusions doth their sense beguile,  
 Such polices my cunning did compello,  
 That I before mens eyes did cast a mist,  
 While I perform'd such matters as I list.

E

Yes



Yee that like apes doe imitate my deeds,  
 Hoping thereby like favour to obtaine,  
 Know that so high a Spirit never breeds,  
 In a blunt Pefant, or unnurtur'd fwaine;  
 But in my heart imperious thoughts did raigne:  
 No flegmatique dull milke-sop can aspire,  
 But one compact of th' Element of fire.

Hee dayly must devise some stratageme,  
 Hee must bee rich, stout, liberall, and wise,  
 The humours of base men hee must contemne,  
 Hee must bee gracious in the peoples eyes,  
 Hee should bee furnisht with rare qualities;  
 With learning, judgement, policy and wit,  
 And such like parts as for the times are fit.

For every froward fellow is not borne,  
 To bee a *Scipio* or a *Maximus*,  
 Vnlesse that wisdome doth his state adorne,  
 Or valour make his life more glorious,  
 Though hee bee base of birth as *Marinus*,  
 Yet hee by vertues aid aloft may come,  
 Like him that was seven times Consull in *Rome*.

*Ventillius* name at first was meane and base,  
 Till he the *Parthians* host had overthrowne,  
 And *Cicero* came not of Noble race,  
 Borne at *Arpinum* a poore Country Towne,  
 Yet hee made Armes give place unto the gowne:  
 And *Rome* by his great wisdome freed from spoile,  
 Call'd him the Father of their native soile.

Perchance young Courtiers learne sometime to sing,  
 To skip or dance before their Mistres face,  
 To touch like *Orpheus* some inchanting string,  
 To runne at *Tylt*, to jet with stately pace,  
 Or by some fine discourse to purchase grace,  
 But cannot mannage the affaires of state,  
 Which best belongs to rich great Potentate.

Liston

Listen to mee yee lusty Souldiers;  
 That in such favour of high attempts doe grow  
 Experience bred in mee these many yeares  
 Hath taught mee cunning which you doe not know;  
 Some precepts here I doe intend to show;  
 And if my *Syrms* song please not great Peeres;  
 Then may they with *Whiffer* stop their eares.

Trust not a friend that is new reconcil'd,  
 In loves faire shew hee may hide foule deceipt;  
 By him yee unawares may bee beguil'd;  
 Reveale to none your matters of great weight,  
 If any chance to know your leud conceipt,  
 Suspected to bewray your bad intent,  
 Hee ought to suffer death or banishment.

*Caligula* the scourge of famous *Rome*,  
 Wisht all the *Romans* had one onely head;  
 That when hee list to give their fatall doome,  
 Hee might with one great blow strick all them dead;  
 So should hee never need their hate to dread;  
 Even such a mischief I wisht to my foes,  
 That many men might perish with few blowes.

But unto those that doe your favour seeke,  
 And by your helps, hope their lowe state to raise,  
 You must bee courteous, bountefull and meeke;  
*Gasar* by clemency wonne greatest praise,  
 And was esteem'd the mirrour of his dayes:  
 For it belongs to men of great estate,  
 To spare the poore, and rich mens pride abate.

It is ill to bee a Rubbe upon that ground,  
 Whereas the Prince the *Alley* meanes to sweepe,  
 There owne estate fondly doe confound,  
 That into high attempts doe bouldly creepe,  
 And with their shallow pates doe wade so deepe,  
 To hinder what their Sovereigne doth intend,  
 Or to controule what they cannot amend.

*Calisthines* much torment did sustaine,  
 Because great *Alexanders* pride hee checkt,  
 Grave *Scaneas* choosing his death was slaine,  
 By *Neros* doome, whose faults hee did correct,  
 Use not too sharpe rebuke, but have respect  
 Vnto the Persons: when great men doe euill,  
 The vengeance leave to God, or to the Devill.

Bee not too haughty, pride procureth hate,  
 And meane mens hate may turne to your disgrace,  
 Nor too familiar in thy high estate,  
 For that will breed contempt among the base;  
 Observe a meane which winneth man great fame,  
 Speake faire to all, trill none, use well your foes,  
 For this may purchase love where hatred growes.

And if that you doe feare your friend should chance,  
 To mount too highly in the Princes grace,  
 His praise to Heaven then stick not to advance,  
 Say that the charge hee beareth is too base,  
 And that his worth deserves farre better place;  
 So may yee by this praise rid him away,  
 And so supply the place another day.

Say hee will prove a terror in the field,  
 This private life doth much obscure his fame,  
 More fit to beare great *Mars* seaven fold shield,  
 Then like *Sardanapalus* Court a Dame,  
 Hee idly lives at home, it is a shame;  
 His very presence may his foes apale,  
 Let him bee sent Lieutenant Generall.

Now if hee chance to perish in some fight,  
 It was not your worke, but the chance of warres,  
 Or thus you may excuse your selfe by flight,  
 Blaming the influence of the angry starres,  
 That thus by death his future fortune barres:  
 And sighing, wee are sorry, yee may say,  
 That this brave man would cast himselfe away.

But

But if in feates of Armes hee have no skill,  
 If hee bee learned grave and eloquent,  
 By praising him thus may you have your will,  
 Procure him in Ambassadge to bee sent,  
 Farre off least hee returne incontinent,  
 As to the mighty *Cham*, or *Prestor Iohn*,  
 And triumph in his roome when hee is gone.

Let no man thinke I exercis'd the Ghost  
 Of this great Peere that sleepeth in the dust,  
 Or conjur'd up his Spirit to his cost  
 To presse with dispraise or praise unjust,  
 I am not partiall but give him his due,  
 And to his soule I wish eternall health,  
 Ne doe I thinke all written tales are true,  
 That are inserted in his Common-wealth;  
 What others wrot before I doe survive,  
 But am not like to them incens'd with hate,  
 And as I plainly write, so doe I strive  
 To write the truth, not wronging his estate.

Of whom it may bee said and censur'd well,  
 Nee both in vice and vertue did excell.

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F I N I S.

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7

*He is the sole*

**A**LL such persons as have just cause  
to complaine against priviledges  
and protections (claimed by the Par-  
liament, the Nobility, Gentry, King,  
Queen, or Princes Servants, persons  
of quality, or others) are desired to  
come to Sadlers Hall in Cheapside,  
London, upon Wednesday next, by two  
of the clocke, being the 21. of this pre-  
sent July 1641.

*And you are likewise desired to bring  
with you your particular grievances in  
writing at the same time.*

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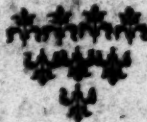
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*London, City of London Common Council* 4  
K. CERTAINE  
PETITIONS  
PRESENTED BY THE  
LORD MAIOR,  
AND  
COMMONALTY  
OF  
The Citie of LONDON,

*To the Honorable House of Commons,*

S H E W I N G,

The great Inconveniences of *Protections, Privi-*  
*ledges and Priviledged Places*, with the *Allegations and Reasons*  
tendred by the *Committees*, appointed by *Common Councill*  
of the *City of London*, against the same: being Voted  
by a Committee of the Lower  
H O U S E.



London, Printed for George Badger, 1641.



REPRESENTED BY THE  
LORD MAJOR

AND  
COMMONALTY

OF  
The City of London

To the Honourable House of Commons  
THE KING

The great Inconveniences of Protection, Privilege and Franchised Places, with the Allegations and Reasons touching the same, reported by the Committee of the City of London, against the same: being Voted by a Committee of the Lower House.



Printed by George B. for J. and S. P. in London



To the Honorable Assembly of the Knights,  
Citizens and Burgesses, in the Commons House of  
PARLIAMENT:

The humble Petition of the Lord Maior and Commonalty of the City of LONDON.

**S**HEWETH, That your Petitioners, by reason of their Trades and dealings, are the greatest Creditors in the Kingdome; That before, but chiefly since the Sitting downe of this Parliament, they finde the multitude of Priviledges and Protections, Claimed by the Parliament, the Nobility, Gentry, his Majesties Servants, Persons of Quality, and others, to be such, as for the most part take away all benefit of Law from your Petitioners, you may be pleased to consider, that his Majestie, and this Honorable Court are the Fountaines of Justice, from whence the proprietie of every Subjects estate is derived, And seriously to take into consideration, that Parliaments continuing long, or coming often, these Inconveniences, and mischiefes will follow:

1. Propriety Will not be maintained, because the Debtor is made master of the Creditors Estate.
2. The Want of that liberall Credite, which hath formerly been given to Persons of Quality.
3. The great decay of Trade, wherein every member of this Kingdome, from the highest to the lowest, hath his common Interest.
4. And without some present remedy, there must necessarily follow, the destruction of many Families, their meanes being detained from them.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly desire, that by the Wisedome and Justice of this Honorable House, such course may be taken, That these Inconveniences may be removed.

And they shall pray, &c.

TO



To the Right Honorable, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in the Commons House of  
PARLIAMENT, Assembled :

The humble Petition of those whose names are underwritten, being Citizens and Traders, of the City of LONDON.

**S**HEWING, That We lately making our griefes knowne to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councell of London, they were pleased to intercede to this Honorable House, by an humble Petition against Priviledges and Protections, whereby as yet we find no fruit or benefit : We therefore humbly desire, That that Petition, and the reasons therein given, may be taken into serious consideration : And be pleased further to consider, that wee and our Families are not able to subsist, neither are we able to beare the great and publike charge, already imposed, and to be imposed, our means being detained from us, And these which prosecute in a faire and legall way, just and honest debts, being therefore Severely punished.

Humbly therefore doe your Petitioners desire this Honorable House, which hath ever maintained the Common Justice of the Kingdome, and still provided remedies against great and growing evils, to doe therein such Justice, as your Wisdomes shall hold agreeable to the Law of God, and Reason; And your Petitioners shall ever pray for the prosperitie of you, and your honorable proceedings,

REA-



## R E A S O N S,

Tendered by the Committee, appointed by  
Common Councill of the Citie of L O N D O N, against  
Protections, Priviledges, and Priviledged Places for  
Debtors, to make good the Propositions, and Allega-  
tions set forth in their Petition, presented to the Honorable  
House of C O M M O N S, against *Protections*.

### A L L E G A T I O N. I.

**P**roprietie will not be maintained, because the debtor is made Master of the Creditors Estate,

#### R E A S O N.

For that the Creditor taking his legall course against the Debtor, in stead of receiving satisfaction for his debt, is oftentimes both he and the Officers, imprisoned, and the Debtor discharged; which doth not only discourage many Creditors in taking course for their owne estates, but greatly incourage others to run into debt, and the Creditor is also hereby disabled to satisfie his severall ingagements.

### A L L E G A T I O N. II.

The want of that liberal Credit, wch hath been formerly given to Persons of quality.

#### R E A S O N.

For that the Creditor cannot receive back the estate, by him trusted forth. And we beleeve that this Honorable House is in good measure sensible hereof.

### A L L E G A T I O N. III.

The great decay of Trade, wherein every member of this Kingdome, from the highest to the lowest, hath his common interest.

#### R E A S O N.

For that the Commodities of Draperie and others, being carried out of this Kingdome, are againe returned into the Kingdome, in Silke, Linnen and other Wares, which by Merchants are trusted forth to Shop-keepers, and by them to sundry other persons, & by reason of Priviledges, Protections, and Priviledged places, preventing due payments of moneys, the trade both within the Kingdom, & into Foreign parts, is much hindered and abated, Merchants and others being by such wayes kept from their estates, to pay their debts, and to buy other native Commodities, fit for exportation: And upon examination, it is found, that in the yeere now last past, there hath not been so much moneys laid out in Trade to Foreign parts, by many hundred thousands of pounds, as hath been in a like equall time formerly.



## ALLEGATION. IV.

And without some present remedie there must necessarily follow the destruction of many Families, their means being detained from them.

## REASON.

This the Citie hath sufficient experience of, there being divers Artificers, who formerly lived in good credit and fashion, and were able to give towards the maintenance of the Poore, who are now by reason of Priviledges, Protections, and Priviledged places, keeping their Estates from them, fallen into want and penury, and not able to support themselves; and others of better quality, who did formerly keep divers persons and Families in constant employments, are by reason of the said Priviledges, Protections, and Priviledged Places, hindring them of their Estates, much fallen, both in their Trades and Credits.

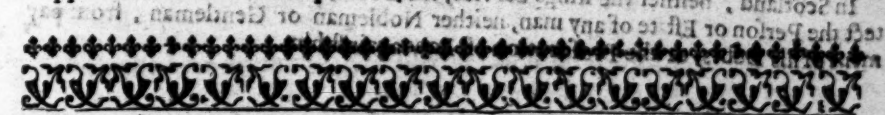
That some principall Merchants of the Citie of London, writing to Friends into forreign parts, for about One hundred thousand Pounds, to furnish the necessitie of the State withall, were from them answered, that they were afraid to send their moneys, because they could not command the same back againe at their pleasures, by reason of Priviledges, Priviledged places, and Protections so generally granted. And it is a generall complaint of Strangers here, that whereas our Merchants trading into forreign parts, have libertie and freedome without interruption, to recover their debts against Persons of greatest qualitie and Estate, Strangers residing and trading in this Kingdome, have not the like libertie against the meanest Subject in it, by reason of Priviledges, Protections, and Priviledged places: the like whereof (by consent of all Merchants, with whom we have conferred) is not granted in any place whatsoever, neither to Nobles nor others.

Besides the great prejudice and inconvenience to the Common Trade of the Kingdome, and to many particular persons alledged in the Propositions before mentioned, it will cleereely appeare by the multitude of Protections, Priviledges, and Priviledged places, whereof use is made at this present, by debtors, to shelter themselves from payment of their just debts, whereof to the number of a thousand, came to our knowledge within the compasse of a few houres, and are particularly collected and distinguished in writing, and many more will appeare, if further way may be given to an inquiry after them. And by credible information, the debts owing by some of the Nobility of this Kingdome (which the Creditors are enforced to forbear by reason of Priviledge, not reckoning within this estimate, any other debts, either of Lords or Commons) doe amount to above a Million, which Summe (as is conceived) if it might be gotten in, and employed, would drive a greater Trade than is driven by all the Merchants in London put together. By which estimate, the masse of Money withheld from Creditors by their Debtors, under colour and pretence of Priviledges, Protections, and Priviledged places, against Law, and the right and propriety of the Subject, the miscarriage of Trade and Creditors, is more evidently represented.

Moreover, it is humbly conceived, That whereas divers estates of Nobilitie and Gentry are clogged with vast debts and incumbrances, Young heires, and persons of Quality would be carefull how they run into so deep debts, if these wayes to evade the just and honest payment of them were taken away. And lastly, we humbly represent that (as Parliaments are now settled by the wisdom of the King and State) these Priviledges, Protections, and Priviledged places are a greater burthen to the

Citie

Citie of London, a greater grievance, and of worse consequence to the generall Trade of the Kingdome, than the Patents of Sope, Leather, Salt, or that great and unsupportable burthen of Ship-money.



**W** E are informed, that in Spaine and Portugall, all mens estates are alike subject to pay debts, but every Nobleman and Gentleman, his person is free, and his bed that he lyeth on, and his horse allowed him, but all else is subject to pay debts, and one may have Sentence for a just and true debt, a bill or bond, in 27 dayes, and then the Creditor may goe without an Officer into the Debtors house (Yea, though he be a Nobleman) and take the Plate from his Table, and take downe his Hangings, and carry them away, with what else he findes, and sell them at an outcry, and take the money in part of his debt, and likewise Sequester the whole Rents, or Revenews of his Lands, till the debt be fully satisfied. Sanctuary cannot defend a Priest from payment of his debts, though it guard his person; An Englishman hath there caused his stipend or Rent belonging to him, for his maintenance, to be sequestred for the payment of his debts.

Duke DALVA, his Plate was taken out of his house for payment of his debts.

In Florence, Ligorne, Pisa, and the rest of the Duke of Florence his dominions, No Nobleman or Gentleman is any way Priviledged or Protected more than others, but all men there are subject to the Law alike, and for a just debt, a bill or bond, he must pay presently, or goe to Prison without suit of Law; only he is called before the Iudge, and if he can not denie the debt, he is forthwith sent to prison, there to remaine untill the debt be paid; no man there was ever Priviledged or Protected, except upon some great occasion. The Great Duke hath sometimes protected the persons of Strangers for some short time, but never his owne Subjects.

In the United Provinces, Holland, Zeland, and the rest, all persons are alike subject to the payment of debts, none are Protected or Priviledged, of what Qualitie soever; not the States themselves: Souldiers only are excepted in their Persons, so long as they are in pay, and imployment; but their Rents, Revenews, their goods, their wages, is lyable, and may be sequestred and taken for payment of their debts.

In Flanders, and in Brabant it is the like. In Geneva no men whatsoever are priviledged from payment of their debts, but at all times, all persons are subject to one Common Law: and for a just debt, a bill or bond, one may have Sentence in Geneva in a moneth at the furthest, both against their persons and estates; there it is held a great disreputation, not to pay their debts, and the Law is, that if any be chosen Senators, and is sued for debt, that he doth not pay, he must leave his gowne, and cannot be admitted.

In Germanie, no Noblemen or Gentlemen are Priviledged, or Protected: it hath been knowne that at Hamborow, or neere that place, a Noblemans goods, or estate hath been sold for payment of his debts; and having not enough to satisfie, they sold his honor likewise.

**S E X T V S Q V I N T V S** the Pope made a law, that no Cardinall should have a voice in the Conclave, at the Election of a Pope, if he owed any money, or were indebt.





(11)

K

## The sad case of Clement VVriter,

Who hath waited for reliefe therein since the  
fourth of Decemb. 1640.

**F**Or then he made complaint by Petition to the grand Committee for Courts of Justice, against the Injustice of the late L. Keeper *Cowdry*, and of some Referrees, who were first obruded, and then their unjust proceedings and practices countenanced and confirmed against *Rule and Reason*, by his Lordships *meete Will and Peter*, and all to mine the Petitioner *unheard*, under the notion of a *Paritan*, the objects of the States hatred, and the esteemed pests of these times.

The said Committee made severall Orders, and apointments for the bearing thereof, but it was still put off from time to time, till that Committee was dissolved, without doing more therein.

In February 45. he renewed his complaint to the Committee for Petitions, who thereupon made this Order following.

Die Martis 10. February 1645.

At the Committee of the House of Commons for Petitions.

**U**Pon reading the Petition of Clement VVriter, and upon debate thereof, It is Ordered by this Committee, that it be referred to Mr. Rigby, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Robinson, or any two of them, who are desired to take a view of the proceedings of this Cause, and state the matter of fact, and report the same to this Committee. And that this business be further heard on this day month, and all parties concerned herein that live in the Parliaments quarters are to have notice hereof, and are required to attend this Committee at the same time in the Inner Exchequer Chamber at Westminster.

JOHN GOODWYN.

According to which Order, a Report was signed and made ready by the sub-Committee therein named, a true copie whereof (the preamble only omitted) here followeth.



# To the Honourable Committee of the Right Honourable the House of Commons for Petitions.

Mar. 9.

1645.

Ch. Wri-

ter Pet.

Geo. Wor-

field and

his Wife

Def. &c

contra.

**W**Ee whose names are hereunto subscribed (being the said Referrees) having examined the proceedings in the said Causes, do humbly certify unto this Honourable Committee; That the said Causes coming to be heard in Chancery, in *Octob. 10 Carol.* And being matters of Account, the same were by the Lord Keeper Coventry referred to an Account, to be computed by Mr. Littleton and Mr. Wormestry *without the Petitioner's consent*, as appeareth by a Copy of a Petition of the said Mr. Writter to the said Lord Keeper, and of the said Lord Keepers Answer thereunto now produced and shewed unto us under the hand of the Deputy Register of the said Court of Chancery. And upon the said Petitioner's suit to the Lord Keeper, it was appointed, that the said Petitioner and the Defendants Solicitors should attend his Lordship for naming indifferent men to take the Accompts, and then the said Lord Keeper by Order of the 25. of *October, Anno 10 Car.* appointed Sir *Walter Devereux Kt. William Barkley Esquire,* and Dr. *Charles*, Commissioners to take the Accompts; and those Commissioners were so named and appointed by the said Lord Keeper *without the consent of the now Petitioner*, as by his Affidavit of the 27. of February, 1645. and his Petition now shewed unto us, subscribed by the said Lord Keeper 14 *March 1634* appeareth, and a Commission issued out according to the said Order of the 25. of *October* aforesaid to take the said Account, and the Commissioners therein named, were also thereby directed to take into consideration the Petitioner's pains, and other things admitted in the Defendant *Worfield's* answer, and to make the Petitioner fit allowance thereof, and had power thereby also to examine both parties upon oath, and other parties (*viz. vult*) to such points as they conceived material, and that the 19. of *January 1634* the said Commissioners certified, that they the 13. day of that moneth had heard the said parties, and taken their Accompts upon Oath, and examined Witnesses upon Oath, and had reduced the Account to a certaintie, (*viz.*) That the Petitioner had disbursed 300 *l.* in prosecution of suite for the said *George Worfield*, which the Defendant had paid to the Petitioner, together with costs of Suite recovered, and that the said Petitioner had received the profits of certain *Wills*

Mills, and Lands, and a House, and other moneys paid and discharged by the Defendant for the Petitioner, in all 619 *l.* 10 *s.* besides the said costs of suit recovered by the said Petitioner upon Judgements for the said *George Worfield* which they allowed the Petitioner in full of all his disbursements, and for the losse of his time and trade about the Defendants businesse, and all other things admitted in the Defendants answer: and the said Commissioner did then also certifie an Accompt given in by the said Petitioner, which they did state at 619 *l.* 10 *s.* allowing the same in generall onely, yet setting forth the Defendants Accompts in the respective particulars thereof, as namely, that the Petitioner received the rent of the Defendants Mills eight years, amounting to 160 *l.* debt of the Petitioner, paid by the defendant to one *Mistress Cooper* 126 *l.* One other debt of the Petitioner to one *Smart* 37 *l.* and one other debt of 40 *l.* to one *Philip*, both which the Defendant paid, and that the Petitioner held the Defendants house in Worcester three yeares worth 27 pounds, and that the Petitioner had 200 pounds of the Defendant, which he recovered at Law, and 9 pounds 10 shillings confessed by the Petitioner, answer to be paid by the defendant, in the 619 *l.* 10 *s.* as appeareth by the said Commission and Certificate remaining in *Chancery*, Copies whereof were now shewed unto us by the Petitioner.

And that the 16 of February, 10. *Caroli*, upon the Petitioners complaint, that the Commissioners had quit scores between him and the defendant *Worfield* Whereas his demands amounted to 1000 *l.* It was Ordered by the said L. Keeper, that a Commission be renewed to the said Commissioners, with the same power (as formerly) which Commission being renewed, dated 21. *March*, 10. *Caroli*, the said Commissioners the 13. of *April* following certified, that they the 11. day of that moneth had reviewed and reexamined their former Certificate and Accompts formerly taken, and had also re-examined divers of the witnesses formerly sworn, and heard read divers depositions in the Cause, and had fully heard all the demands and allegations of the said parties, and certified further, that they found no cause to add to or alter their former Certificate as by copies of this latter Commission and Certificate now shewed to us by the Petitioner appeareth. And afterwards the 30. of *April*, 11. *Car.* It was ordered by the said Lord Keeper, that both the said Certificate and the matters therein contained be absolutely ratified and confirmed by the Decree of the said Court of *Chancery* to be performed.

And yet for this, that a day was given to the Defendant, as before cause

why the same should not be decreed, though he often Petitioned to have Liberty to shew his exceptions to the said Certificate, and the Commissioners proceedings therein, (as appeareth by severall Petitions to the said Lord Keeper, and his answer therunto now shewed unto us) and wee doe also find, that the Petitioners chiefe Employments in Law-suits for and on the behalfe of the said George Worfield, and which were to be allowed for by the said Commissioners, were against the said Mr. Barkleys own sister and her son, and that Sir Walter Devereux was Land-lord to the said George Worfield (as appeareth unto us by the Affidavit of Thomas Writer, made the 27 day of April, 1635; and now shewed unto us.) And the said Petitioner hath also shewed unto us an Affidavit of Francis Colman and Thomas Writer, made the 13. of April 1635. whereby great partialitie against the now Petitioner is sworn to have bin in the said Commissioners, Sir Walter Devereux, & William Barkley, in their proceedings in the execution of the said latter Commission, the Pe-

\* This is  
since pro-  
ved by  
two Wit-  
nesses.  
titioner alleadgeth, that he hath witnesses to \* prove, that he exhibited a particu-  
lar accompt in writing to the said Commissioners at the execution of the  
said latter Commission, whereby he claimed above 2000 pounds to be due  
unto him from the said George Worfield, and that the Commissioners refused  
to examine the particulars thereof.

And we find by the Affidavit of Will. Hill, made the 20 of February, 1635. and by the Affidavit of Tho. Writer, made the 18 of May, 1636. that they were both present the 11 day of April, 1635 at the execution of the said latter Commission, where the Petitioners Councell desired, that according to the last Order of Reference, the accompts between the parties might be reviewed and rectified in the mistakes & Omissions thereof, but the said Commissioners answered, they were resolved not to alter or vary from that they had formerly done. The Petitioners Councell urging, that the former Certificate was a generall setting of the demands of the one against the other in grosse, and thereby making them both even, which was a great mistake, and much damage to the Plaintiffe (the now Petitioner.) and not the right way of Proceedings in such cases, and therefore desired, that the severall accompts might then be examined in each particular by themselves, with the time, and the other circumstances considerable to be considered of, which would make the accompts clear & certain, but the said Commissioners utterly refused so to doe. And the Petitioner desiring to have the said George Worfield examined upon oath, the Commissioners would not doe it; there being at that time but one witness sworn and examined, which was one John East, and he examined on the defendants behalfe, the said M. Barkley affirmed, that they

gave



gave more credit to the said *Ever* then to all the now Petitioners witnesses; and there being speeches used at the same time concerning the Lands in question, and the Petitioners estate therein, Sir *Walter Devereux* said, they had no power to meddle therein: Whereupon the said Councell desired them so to explain themselves; whereupon the said Sir *Walter* said, *Yes, if you be there we have done*, &c. rose up in displeasure, and so brake off; and thus ended the businesse, the said *Mr. Barkley* often using words as if the cause had concerned himselfe, as appeareth by their severall Affidavits now shewed unto us.

*Alexander Rigby.*  
*Luke Robinson.*

Notē, before that day moneth came, (nominated by the said Order for the Committees further hearing of the Cause) this Committee was suspended for six weeks; and when the Petitioner had in vaine waited three yeares for the restoring thereof, about 48. he exhibited a Bill of Review in *Chancery*, to which his adversaries demurred, and after its dependance there above twenty moneths, and the Petitioners expence above a hundred Marks, the Demurrer was allowed, and the Petitioners Bill dismissed, he being told by a person of Eminent Authority and experience, That not the *Chancery* but the Parliament must yeeld reliefe in the case, it being proper only for them: Wherefore it's hoped, and desired, the same person will now please to effect something in Parliament for the Petitioners reliefe, when he considers the long dependance of the Cause there unredressed, and the honor attained to himselfe thereby; the same Complaint being yet continued by the Petition following.

To the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, the humble  
Petition of Clement Writter of the City of Worcester.

**SHEWETH,**

**T**hat your Petitioner had unequal Referrees thrust upon him by the Lord  
Keeper Coventry, and their false and unjust Certificates as unjustly  
deserved by his Lordship, without day given to stur cause against it; and when the  
Petitioner



Petitioner had proved by divers Witnesses the partialitie and injustice of the said Referrers, and the falsenisse of the said Certificate, he was denied by his Lordship to be heard therein, to the Petitioners damage above 1500 pounds.

That the Petitioner for reliefe appeared the 4. of December, 1640. to the great Committee for Causes of Justice, who then and after made severall Orders for the hearing thereof, and your Petitioner with his Counsell and many Witnesses (fetcht from Worcester, and here kept at the Petitioners charge) continually attending; but by reason of the publique Affaires of the Nation, it was still put off from day to day, till that Committee was dissolved.

That the 10. of Feb. 1645. your Petitioner appealed to the Committee for Petitions, who then upon full debate ordered, That some of that Committee then present should view the proceedings, state the matter of fact, and report the same to that Committee, and the Cause to be further heard that day moneth.

That accordingly the Proceedings were viewed, a Report signed, and made readie to be reported by M. Rigby and M. Robinson: but before that day moneth came, that Committee was suspended for six weekes, and never yet restored.

Now forasmuch as your Petitioner hath long languished under this oppression and is extreemly wasted every way by his twelve years chargeable attendance there being no ordinary Court of Justice able to afford him relief; and for that his Adversaries (taking advantage by the delay he findes in Parliament) do seek to deprive him of his present subsistence by vexatious suits, occasioned by that unjust Decree, against which he hath so long here complained; which Suits would be quieted if his Cause were but heard, which was never yet heard, though decreed against him. And for that he hath alwayes adhered to the Parliament, done, and suffered much for them, and contributed to their assistance, to the utmost of his ability, without repayment, or any the least recompence hitherto.

He therefore humbly beseecheth, that the Parliament will be pleased to hear the said Report, and to do thereupon, as to your Wisdoms shall appear to stand with Justice, for the Petitioners timely relief, before the small remainder of his much wasted estate, and life, do both expire.

And your Petitioner shall pray, &c.

POST.

# POSTSCRIPT.

To the Members in Parliament;

Be pleased to consider,

1 **H**ow small, reasonable, and just, the thing petitioned for is.  
2 How tedious and chargeable the attendance and prosecution hereof hath been to the Petitioner.

3 How sad a thing it is thus to neglect the grievances of your suffering friends, and therein to benefit and advantage your enemies, to the undoing of your friends.

But the Petitioner hopeth to find you better towards him when you duly weigh his condition, and your own solemn Promise made to the Nation in the very case, April 17. 1646. viz. That in case of male administration of Justice, you would see and provide that right be done, and punishment inflicted according to the Laws of the Land, and the trust reposed in you.

4 What just and necessary cause the Parliament had for redress of such grievances by the Order following.

Die Martis, 2. Martij, 1640.

**O**rdere*d* by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That it be referred to the Committee for the Jurisdiction of the Star-chamber, to procure a Bill, and to present it to this House; and therein to consider how far the Heires and Executors of such as are, or have been, in Judicial or Ministerial places since 9. Carol. or shall be hereafter, that have or shall doe wrong to the Common-wealth, by Extortion, Oppression, or Injustice, shall be liable to make reparation to the parties grieved.

**R**. Acton, who attends at the Parliaments door, hath the Report ready to give in when its called for.